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POLITICAL PARTIES IN MICHIGAN
1837-1860

AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF POLITICAL ISSUES AND
PARTIES IN MICHIGAN FROM THE AD-
MISSION OF THE STATE TO
THE CIVIL WAR

BY
FLOYD BENJAMIN STREETER

LANSING
MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION
1918

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TO MY MOTHER

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PREFACE

SOME years ago when the author was a graduate student in the University of Michigan, Professor Van Tyne suggested the history of the Republican party in Michigan as an excellent subject for a doctoral dissertation; under the inspiration of this suggestion an investigation of the field was begun, but later it was decided to make a study of all political parties in the ante-bellum period. The study of the political history of a typical northern State in the period when the slavery question was the foremost issue before the people has been especially interesting to one who is descended from New England ancestry and whose near kinsmen fought in the war to save the Union. The author has tried to search out the truth wherever it could be found and to write an impartial history of ante-bellum politics.

The year 1835 has been selected as the opening date of this study because certain developments important in the history of Michigan politics originated at this time. After the Constitutional Convention of 1835 the people no longer regarded Michigan as a Territory but made preparations to assume their responsibilities as citizens of a State in the Union. The formation of the Whig party was begun late in 1834 and the leading issues in the next two years tended to strengthen the organization. The factional character of the Democratic party was disclosed for the first time in that convention, and subsequent issues made the

division more evident. Furthermore the State Constitution drafted in that year was the one under which the people of Michigan lived for fifteen years. The State officers, and United States Senators and Representative in Congress elected in 1835 continued to hold office after the State was admitted into the Union.

The student of politics has to take into consideration the many forces underlying the views of the people on political questions. Chief among these are the training in the homes, the schools and the churches, and the economic and social environment under which the people live. Men's preferences and prejudices in politics can usually be traced to some or all of these influences. The writer of this monograph has tried therefore to place proper emphasis on the origin and character of the voting population, the influence of economic and social conditions and questions, and the part which the churches and probably the schools played in the formation of public opinion. No attempt has been made to discuss all the local and national political issues before the people; space has been given only to those which were especially important in causing the alignment of the voters into parties and factions. Since the slavery question attracted the limelight of public attention in this quarter of a century, the views of the people on it have received extensive treatment, but not to the exclusion of other issues. Slavery involved economic, moral, social and racial questions and consequently more forces had a part in the formation of public opinion with reference thereto than was the case with most issues. The

influence of the churches in this connection was especially great.

It is impossible to acknowledge adequately the debt I owe to those who have aided me so generously in gathering my data and in writing this monograph. I am under very deep obligations to Professor W. W. Davis of the University of Kansas for his interest in this investigation and for many valuable suggestions on the manuscript. I owe much to Professors C. H. Van Tyne, Carl Becker and U. B. Phillips for their generous assistance and for words of encouragement at times when such words were most needed. These men are however in no way responsible for any errors in this book or for the author's shortcomings. I wish to thank the librarians for the courteous treatment extended to me at all times, and to express my gratitude for the many kindnesses of my relatives and friends.

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CHAPTER I

State Politics, 1835-1843

THE history of political parties in Michigan in the ante-bellum period is largely the story of the struggle between the people on the vast, but rapidly diminishing, frontier who were imbued with the political, economic and social philosophy of the West, and the element residing in the older settled districts who, either because of the influence of wealth, station in life, or some other and more subtle reason upheld the interests of the monied class. It is the account of the clash of sectional interests and the development of factions within the parties, complicated in time by the origin and rise of the anti-slavery party which increased so rapidly that within a decade and a half it secured complete control in the State.

The division of the voters into political groups, both parties and factions, resulted from the following causes. In the first place there was a slight tendency in the early days for the voters to split into parties, and a general tendency for the leaders to divide into factions on the basis of origin. The vast majority of the pioneer settlers came from the New England States and from New York,[1] and a large portion of these resided in western New York.[2] The political

1. *Compendium of the U. S. Census of 1850*, pp. 116-118.
2. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 357-361, 542. In 1850, 33.6% of the people had been born in New York State.

philosophy of those who had emigrated from the latter section was therefore the product of two frontiers; theirs was the American spirit doubly distilled. Influenced by the frontier environment the leaders from western New York tended to form the radical political groups in Michigan. On the other hand, the politicians who had formerly resided in eastern New York and New England and had been reared under the influence of wealth, education and family prestige constituted a very large portion of the conservative element.[3]

Again, the amount of wealth which the voters possessed and their social position helped to determine their party predilections. Throughout ante-bellum times Michigan had a composite population ranging from the uncultured and almost penniless frontiersmen who had undertaken the task of conquering the wilderness, to the highly educated professional men, the monied class and the merchants, all of whom constituted the *elite* of society in the older settled regions. At the opening of the statehood period however the vast majority of the male inhabitants were poor farmers. The greater portion of these were young[4] and ambitious men who had been attracted to the West by the excellent opportunities which this section offered to persons without much money. This element, though scattered over the whole State, constituted a considerable portion of the settlers in the west and in the counties north of the second tier. These sections were at this time the most frontier of frontier

3. This conclusion has been reached after a study of the careers of almost every noted leader in ante-bellum times, making a total of about seven hundred.
4. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 544.

communities. On the other hand the well-to-do inhabitants comprised a small but very influential portion of the population and resided chiefly in the east-central counties. These counties were usually designated in the ante-bellum period as the central tier. The wealthy element residing in this section consisted for the most part of bankers, merchants[5] and monied men[6] in the cities and the large land owners in the rural districts; the wealthy and well educated folks in Detroit in the central tier were the social equals of the same element in the eastern cities.[7]

Another and final reason for the political alignment was the fact that the economic interests of the people in the northern and southern counties conflicted sharply with the interests of the residents of the central counties. Thus the voters tended to divide into parties according to sectional lines. Except in the two southern tiers of counties the State in the late thirties was very sparsely populated.[8] The central

5. Lanman, *History of Michigan* (1839), pp. 293-294. The largest number of merchants resided in the counties of Wayne and Washtenaw in the central tier.
6. Several monied men had also made large investments in the Saginaw and Grand River Valleys and elsewhere in the State chiefly for purposes of speculation. See Lanman, pp. 282, 284, 289, 290, 291; Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, p. 142; Collin, *History of Branch County*, pp. 79-80; Glover, *History of Cass County*, pp. 154-155, 183-187; *History of Calhoun County* (1877), pp. 52-53; *Michigan Historical Collections*, VII, 240; Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, II, 1034.
7. Lyon Letters, *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVII, 454; Martineau, *Society in America*, I, 314.
8. Utley and Cutcheon, *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, III, 115. The people were scattered along the Grand, the Maple, the Thornapple, the Looking Glass,

tier had a considerably larger number of inhabitants than either the counties on the north or those on the southern border.[9] Detroit situated in the farthest eastern county of the central tier, was the oldest and largest city in southern Michigan.[10] As has been stated, this section was the stronghold of the well-to-do element, and the commercial interests exercised a noticeable influence in politics, while in the northern and southern counties a large majority of the inhabitants were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Many of them were poor people. The comparatively large number of well-to-do farmers in the counties on the southern border would be expected to bring about a political alliance of the people of this section with the party representing the monied element. Conflicting economic interests however tended to prevent such a union in the thirties. Feeling that the people in the central tier were exercising too much influence in politics and were receiving the lion's share of the appropriations of money, the voters in the outlying districts tended to unite with that political party which would protect their interests.

The Democratic party was the first in the field and had a well developed organization as early as 1832.[11] This party was composed mainly of the poor and uneducated people in the cities and the rural districts, though a number of well-to-do had also been attracted

8. *Con.* the Shiawassee, the Flint, the Clinton and the Black rivers.
9. See statistics in Lanman, pp. 305-306.
10. Detroit had a population of about 8,000.
11. Webster, *Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest*, p. 81.

to it. Since most of the voters who had emigrated from western New York were poor and inclined to be radical, there was a tendency for them to unite with the Democratic party. As might be expected, this party was strong in the thirties on the southern border, in the north, and in the west, because it represented the interests of a majority of the people in these sections.

The poor and radical element was dominant in the Democratic party in Michigan in the late thirties. Since the party was in power in the State from 1835 to 1839, this class of Democrats had an opportunity to make practical use of its theories. The principles of the party in Michigan in this period were therefore largely the economic, social and political theories of the radical planks incorporated in the party platforms. The Democrats advocated equal rights, equal privileges and the same laws for all.[12] They were hostile to monopolies and vested interests and wished to break down the power of the monied men in politics.[13] The rank and file eagerly supported the strong leaders and officials who represented the masses against the aristocratic element.[14] The party leaders attracted to their standards therefore all who believed that the Whigs were the "legitimate progeny of federalism;"[15] all

12. *Calhoun County Patriot*, September 4, 1838. A list of twelve party principles is given.
13. Address to the People, *Proceedings of the Democratic Territorial Convention* (1835), pp. 14-15. See also Niles *Intelligencer*, August 8, 1838, October 28, 1840.
14. Merriam, *A History of American Political Theories*, pp. 182-183.
15. Address to the People, *Proceedings of the Democratic Territorial Convention* (1835), pp. 14-15.

who wished to "defeat the machinations of the aristocracy of wealth centered in Jefferson Avenue,"[16] the leading business street in Detroit, and all who would acclaim with one accord, "The people shall rule,' should the question be asked "Shall the people rule, or shall they be subjugated by a monied aristocracy?"[17]

The Whig party was organized later than the Democratic party and was composed of a much different constituency. The vast majority of the Whigs were the well-to-do and conservative men or those who, for some reason, upheld the interest of this class. Among them were many bankers, merchants and financiers in the cities, and large land owners in the country. This element was strong in east-central Michigan, especially in Detroit. A large number of the Whigs had been reared in homes in New England and eastern New York where they had enjoyed the advantages of wealth and education. The social prestige thus acquired sharply distinguished them from the poor and uncultured people who were so numerous in the Democratic party.

The activities of the Democratic Territorial officials in politics and the assumption of powers by the President caused the leaders of the wealthy element to feel in 1834 that they should organize a Whig party in Michigan. Accordingly a call signed by about three hundred persons in Detroit[18] was issued for a meeting which was to be held in that city on December 18. At the appointed time a number of the sympathizers

16. *Calhoun County Patriot*, July 6, 1838.
17. Niles *Intelligencer*, August 8, 1838.
18. Detroit *Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, December 16, 1834. Many of these were merchants in the city.

with this movement assembled. The resolutions adopted on this occasion denounced the President's policy of appointing "favorites" from outside the Territory to fill the principal offices. They declared that the Democracy of Michigan consisted of all the people and that the organization under the control of the office-holders at Detroit claiming to be the Democracy was an insult to the people. They regretted the premature introduction into the Territory of a party organization by the officers of the Federal Government. They feared the result of the assumption of powers by the President. Those present felt therefore that it had become their imperative duty to form a Whig party. They consequently requested the Whigs to organize, and appointed a general committee which was to address the people and to correspond with the friends of the movement throughout the Territory.[19]

By 1835 the Democratic party had become a well developed and effective organization.[20] This was due chiefly to the fact that most of the Territorial officials in the thirties were Democrats who made it a point to perfect the party organization, that the principles of Jacksonian Democracy appealed to the people of the West, and that in Michigan the greater portion of the voting population was of the type which could be easily controlled and disciplined by skillful party leaders. The Whig party, as might be expected, was still very weak and imperfectly organized.

19. *Ibid*, December 24, 1834.
20. Webster, *Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest*, pp. 82-83.

The relative strength of the two parties in 1835 was shown in the election of State officers. The Democratic State Convention was held at Ann Arbor in August. Sixteen counties were represented by eighty-nine delegates. Stevens T. Mason and Judge Mundy were nominated as candidates for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor respectively.[21] The Whigs apparently held no State Convention this year. Instead, it seems that a local convention in Oakland County placed a ticket in the field. Some of the voters in this county who were dissatisfied with the nominees on the Democratic ticket held a meeting on September 16[22] and nominated as candidate for Governor, John Biddle, a resident of Detroit and a brother of the well known president of the United States Bank, and for Lieutenant Governor, James Kingsley, a lawyer who resided in Ann Arbor. In the election Mason received 7,508 votes, Biddle 814 and a number of other candidates a few votes each.[23] Biddle polled 536 of his votes in Oakland County and 101 in Wayne.

In the next few years however the leading issues before the people tended to strengthen the Whig party and caused the sectional alignment of parties to become rather distinct. As a result the majority of the voters in the central tier of counties usually supported the candidates on the Whig ticket, while the Democratic party held the balance of power in the counties on the southern border, in the north, and in the Grand River Valley.

21. Niles *Gazette and Intelligencer*, September 12, 1835.
22. Detroit *Journal and Courier*, September 22, 1835.
23. *Senate Journal* (1835-1836), Doc. 2.

The most important issue which helped to determine the sectional alignment of the parties was the construction of internal improvements. The Legislature of 1837, in which a majority of the members were Democrats representing poor and radical constituents, launched upon an elaborate plan of internal improvements. This consisted of three railroads east and west across the State, three canals and the improvement of the Grand, the Kalamazoo and St. Joseph rivers.[24] The routes of the proposed railroads were as follows: The southern which was to be built west from Monroe through the southern tier of counties, the central west from Detroit through the central tier, and the northern west from Port Huron.

The Whigs, whose opinions were reflected in the Detroit *Advertiser*, believed that only the central railroad should be completed at this time.[25] The editor of this paper pointed out that the country along the routes of the northern and southern roads was not sufficiently settled to justify the construction of these improvements.[26] The leaders of the Democratic party, lacking the conservative influence of a large class of monied men and wishing to satisfy a numerous constituency in the frontier districts, urged the completion of the whole system of improvements.[27]

24. *Laws of Michigan* (1837), pp. 130-133.
25. Detroit *Advertiser*, February 4 and 20, March 9 and 20, 1837.
26. *Ibid*, February 4 and 20, 1837.
27. Detroit *Free Press*, September 17, 1838. In the State convention, a resolution was adopted urging the speedy completion of "our several projected works of Internal Improvement, so that the agricultural interests of the various sections of the State shall be equally benefitted by the expenditure of public money."

There is no doubt that many voters in the north and south who would otherwise have become Whigs united with the Democratic party because of its position on this issue.

The influence of the internal improvement issue on the sectional alignment of parties was illustrated by the vote for the State officials in the elections of 1837 and 1839. In the former year the candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket polled 15,314 votes and the candidate on the Whig ticket 14,546.[28] With a few exceptions the Democratic candidate received a majority in the counties in the southern tier, in the north, and in the Grand River Valley. The Whig candidate polled most of his votes in the central tier and the Saginaw Valley. In 1839 the Whigs lost Wayne and Saginaw counties, but they gained Calhoun in the central tier, Hillsdale in the southern and with the exception of Livingston County the Whig candidate for Governor received a majority in all the counties in the third tier.[29]

When the bill appropriating money for the continuation of the railroads came up in 1838 for consideration in a legislature composed largely of Democratic members from the counties in the north and the south and of Whigs from the central tier, it is not strange that a bitter contest took place. When the final vote was taken the majority of the Democratic members from the north and the south and a few from the central tier supported this bill. The Whigs and a few Democrats from the central counties, three

28. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
29. *Michigan State Journal*, January 22, 1840.

State election in 1837

Majority for the Democratic candidate for Governor

Large majority for the Whig candidate for Governor

Small majority for the Whig candidate for Governor

No returns

William H. Hathaway's " County organization in Michigan " has been used for the changes in the boundary lines of the counties

State election in 1839

Large majority for the Whig candidate for Governor

Small " " " " " " " .

Majority for the Democratic " " " .

No returns

Whigs from the south and one Whig and one Democrat from the north opposed it.[30]

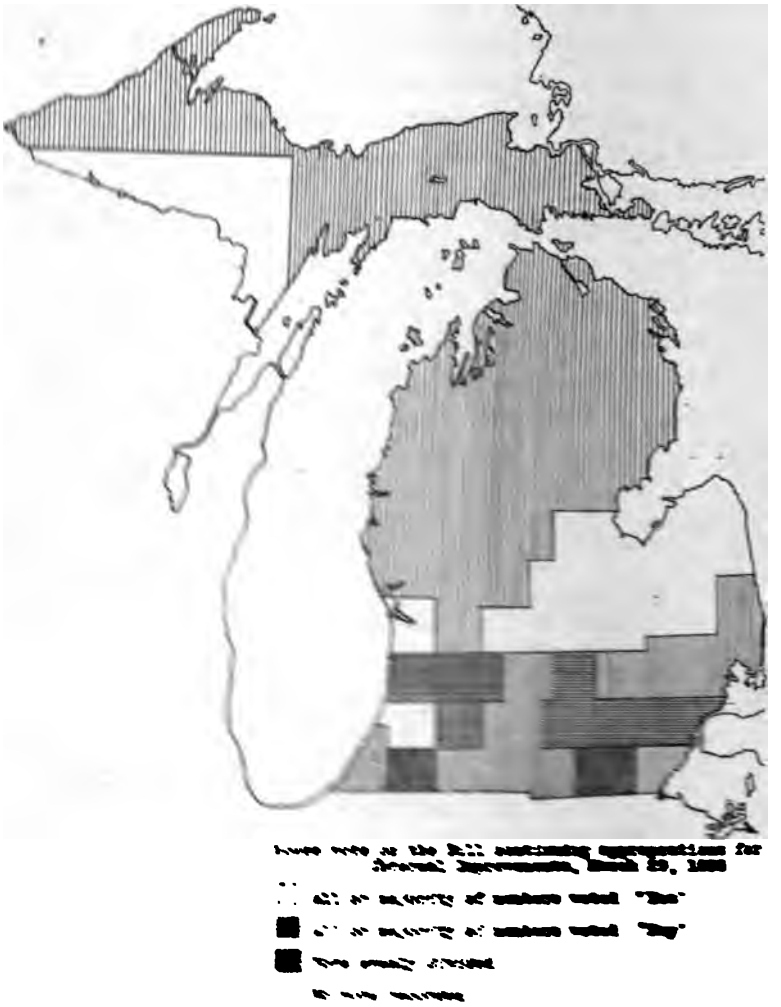
During the two following years the sectional alignment of parties remained about the same in the Legislature and consequently hard fights occurred in that body in 1839 over the Internal Improvement Bill,[31] and in the following year over the resolution to discontinue these projects.[32] With a few exceptions, the Whig members opposed the former and favored the latter measure, while the Democrats took the opposite stand.

The hard times which followed the financial crisis of 1837 also had a pronounced effect on both political parties. On the one hand, large numbers of Democrats,

30. *House Journal* (1838), p. 385; *Senate Journal* (1838), p. 331. This bill appropriated $350,000 each for the central and the southern railroads, $60,000 for the northern railroad, $205,000 for the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal, $47,000 for the Saginaw canal, $30,000 for the improvement of the Grand and Maple rivers and $8,000 for the Kalamazoo River. *Laws of Michigan* (1838), p. 154.

31. *House Journal* (1839), pp. 654-660; *Senate Journal* (1839), pp. 504-511. The appropriations were: for the southern railroad $100,000; for the central $100,000; and for the northern $40,000. *Laws of Michigan* (1839), p. 234.

32. *House Journal* (1840), pp. 75-76. In 1838 the members of the Legislature from the southern tier asserted that the representatives from the central counties were hostile to northern and southern interests and hinted that a plot existed among the legislators from the center. Detroit *Advertiser*, February 9, 1838. At a meeting in Monroe two years later, it was declared that the Legislature had at each session neglected the southern road. Detroit *Free Press*, December 18, 1840. Excitement was running high along the central road at this time. George Ketchum to George F. Porter, *Joy Papers*, Vol. 491, p. 11.



House vote on the Resolution to discontinue work on Internal Improvements, January 18,1840

All or majority of members voted "Yea"

All or majority of members voted "Nay"

No vote recorded

especially the well-to-do men in the central tier, became disgusted with their party and united with the Whigs. On the other, the wealthy and conservative element which had hitherto taken very little part in politics began to take a much more active interest. They immediately began to build up the Whig party, which had to be almost entirely reorganized. On June 21, 1837, the Detroit *Advertiser* made the following comment on the situation: "The great difficulty with us heretofore has been, not a paucity of numbers, but indifference at the polls. The Whig party is made up of business men. They have no time to spend in the electioneering tactics of their opponents."

Scarcely had the crisis struck the State when the well-to-do and conservative men became active. On May 22, a prominent Whig wrote that the commercial disorder and the general derangement of business had long been expected. Continuing he said:[33] "For whoever heard that good has resulted from setting a blacksmith to mend watches with a sledge hammer, or setting a band of thieves to frame a code of morals?.. Just so absurd is it to set Andrew Jackson to work to improve the monied concerns of the Union and to create a new and improved currency." In their meetings, the Whigs denounced President Jackson and his successor for their "experiments" upon the currency.[34] They urged the people to oust from office those irresponsible office holders[35] who, as the Whigs

33. Wm. Woodbridge to his son (name not given), *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 130, p. 116.
34. Detroit *Advertiser*, July 12 and August 10, 1837.
35. *Ibid*, July 13, 1837.

in one meeting added, lacked the "common characteristic of sobriety,"[36] and to elect in their place a more intelligent and capable set of men.[37]

On June 14 a movement was started by some of the leading men of Ann Arbor to effect "an organization of the Republicans of this State, opposed to the measures of the present Administration of the General and State Governments." Delegates to the Washtenaw County convention were chosen and the members of a correspondence committee were appointed.[38] On June 21 the county organization was formed, on which occasion resolutions were adopted denouncing the interference of the President with the treasury and declaring that "we will cordially unite with the republicans of the different counties of Michigan to exert our influence in restoring our country to its former state of prosperity and leave no honorable means unemployed to effectually reform the 'reformer.'"[39] On the 19th the well-to-do men in Detroit held a meeting for the purpose of organizing a party.[40] On July 10 the same element in Wayne County[41] and on the 25th the "republicans" of Genesee County[42] held conventions and appointed delegates to the Whig State Convention at Ann Arbor in August. The Whigs in other counties also selected delegates to this convention.[43]

36. *Ibid*, June 23, 1837.
37. *Ibid*, August 7 and September 21, 1837.
38. *Ibid*, June 19, 1837.
39. *Ibid*, June 27, 1837.
40. *Ibid*, June 23, 1837.
41. *Ibid*, July 12, 1837.
42. *Ibid*, August 5, 1837.
43. *Ibid*, July 20, 1837.

The Whig delegates from the various counties assembled at Ann Arbor early in August. They adopted a platform in which a leading plank declared that the financial upheaval was due to a "series of arbitrary and unconstitutional acts, committed by the late Executive of the United States." They nominated Charles C. Trowbridge, a Detroit capitalist, for Governor and Daniel Bacon, a lawyer residing in Monroe, for Lieutenant Governor.[44]

The Democrats held their State convention at Ann Arbor in July. Resolutions were adopted which approved the work of the national administration and declared that the "present pecuniary embarrassment" was the result of speculation which had been fostered by the rapid increase of banks and the excessive issue of paper money. The best remedy, it was said, was to establish a broader specie basis for the banking system. The Democrats renominated Mason and Mundy for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor respectively.[45]

During the campaign very few of the leading Democrats left the party, but the results of the election showed that a large number of their constituents supported the Whig candidate.[46] The monied men in east-central Michigan exerted all possible influence. According to the *Free Press* the defeat of the Democratic party in Wayne County was due to the fact that this county was the seat of the aristocracy and of vested interests. This paper stated that the whole

44. *Ibid*, August 7, 1837.
45. Detroit *Free Press*, July 24, 1837.
46. Mason received 15,314 votes and Trowbridge 14,546. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.

mercantile class of Detroit, the two deposit banks, the engineers, the contractors and a considerable portion of the custom house officials had opposed the Democratic candidates.[47]. In Berrien County where the commercial interests[48] were strong and in the Saginaw Valley where eastern capitalists had made large investments,[49] Trowbridge, the Whig candidate, received a majority of the votes.

In the next two years the deplorable state of the finances brought untold hardships to hundreds of homes and spelled ruin to many business ventures. The insolvent banks were passing out of existence; early in 1839 twenty-nine of them were under injunction and at the end of the year the number had increased to forty-three.[50] On the latter date only three of the chartered banks with one branch bank and four of those organized under the general banking law kept open doors.[51] When these banks failed they left a large number of worthless notes in the hands of the people.[52] The laborers and farmers were the chief sufferers. The people in the Grand River and Saginaw valleys felt the effect of the depression later than those in the southern counties, but they were hit much more

47. Detroit *Free Press*, November 14, 1837.
48. Lanman, *History of Michigan* (1839), pp. 293-294.
49. *Michigan Historical Collections*, VII, 240.
50. *House Documents* (1839), p. 564, Attorney General's report; *Senate Documents* (1840), II, 17.
51. *House Documents* (1840), I, 26; *Michigan Historical Collections*, II, 123.
52. Cooley, *Michigan*, p. 272; *Michigan Historical Collections*, II, 123; Detroit *Advertiser*, September 10, 1839; *Joy Papers*, Vol. 476, p. 51; Vol. 482, p. 83; Vol. 492, p. 16.

severely.[53] The financial crash caused a large number of Democrats to become dissatisfied with their party. Since each month brought harder times and an increasing number of failures, the well-to-do men especially in the cities began to withdraw their support from the radical measures of the party. The attitude of this wing of the party was expressed in a letter written in August, 1838, by John R. Williams, a wealthy Democrat residing in Detroit. He was "inclined to the opinion that there exists a secret determination to break down men of property, or owners of property, to compel them to sell, even at any price, to pay taxes and other accumulating demands of every description."[54]

In addition to the financial difficulties there was another cause of distress. According to Bela Hubbard, the Assistant State Geologist, there was a great deal of sickness in 1839. During the flush times many mills had been built and each one of them formed a nucleus for a settlement; the stumps and fallen timbers which had not been removed from the mill ponds were a source of malaria. Hubbard says,[55] "In the fall of that year I passed through many hamlets, and even considerable villages, where a quarter part of the population were down with fever and ague. I had often to ride for miles beyond my intended resting

53. *Michigan Historical Collections*, I, 25; Fox, *History of the Saginaw Valley* (1868), p. 51; Everett, *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, p. 374.
54. Letter to Wm. Woodbridge, *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 130, p. 243.
55. Hubbard, *Memorials of a Half Century*, p. 103.

place, because at the tavern where I applied the family were too ill to wait upon me."

The Whigs were determined to win in the State election of 1839 and waged a vigorous campaign. The Democratic party was suffering from a factional quarrel and showed a lack of enthusiasm and confidence. Though the conservative Democrats gained the upper hand and nominated one of their number as the candidate for Governor,[56] the party was defeated and the Whigs rode into office on the promise of "retrenchment and reform."[57] The Whig candidate polled 18,195 votes and his opponent 17,037.[58]

As soon as the Whigs came into power they tried to reform a bankrupt State. The Legislature passed an act directing the commissioners of internal improvement not to enter into any new contracts nor relet the old ones.[59] This body extended the time for the collection of taxes for 1839;[60] it abolished some of the offices[61] and reduced the salaries of some of the officials.[62]

The panic had so completely disorganized finances and had destroyed so many business enterprises that no political party could within two years restore order out of such chaos. The recovery from the crash was the work of years. The Whigs had been too sanguine

56. Detroit *Free Press*, September 13, 1839. Elon Farnsworth, a native of Vermont and a leading lawyer in Detroit, was the candidate.
57. This was the campaign cry of the Whigs.
58. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
59. *Laws of Michigan* (1840), p. 237.
60. *Ibid*, pp. 6-8.
61. *Ibid*, pp. 115-116, 126, 128.
62. *Ibid*, p. 127.

during the campaign and had promised more reforms than they could put into effect; consequently the administration did not meet the expectations of many of the voters[63] and a large number of them became dissatisfied with the party.

Meanwhile, the Democrats were healing the schism in their party, and in 1841 all the factions united upon John S. Barry of St. Joseph County as candidate for Governor.[64] He was a native of New Hampshire, and was a leading merchant in southwestern Michigan.[65] He was not only popular with the masses because of their confidence in his honesty,[66] but he was perhaps the only man at this time who could restore harmony in the party. He was elected by a plurality of over 5,000 votes, and two years later, he was re-elected by an even larger plurality.[67] Business methods and rigid economy were strictly enforced during his administration. It is said that he even had the grass on the capitol yard cut and sold and the proceeds turned into the State treasury.[68]

From 1841 until 1854, the Democratic party elected its candidate for Governor at every election and also had a majority of the members in the legislative branch.

The formation of factions within the Democratic

63. See letter of John R. Williams to John Norvell on February 13, 1840, *Williams Papers*, Vol. 29, p. 49.
64. *Michigan State Journal*, November 9, 1841.
65. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), pp. 73-74.
66. Robert McClelland to Alpheus Felch, *Felch Papers*, Vol. 830, p. 157.
67. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
68. Utley and Cutcheon, *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, III, 259-260.

and Whig parties was equally as important a development in Michigan politics as the rise and growth of the parties themselves. The growth of factions showed that there was a pronounced lack of unity in both parties. In fact the political alignment was only too often the result of allegiance to leaders of strong personality rather than allegiance to party principles. Each party was so utterly broken up into factions in the thirties and forties that it might almost be said that the name Whig or Democrat represented an idea rather than an actuality. On a great many issues, national as well as local, a portion of one party formed a coalition with the other or with the third party. From the opening of the statehood period until the organization of the Republican party, the factional hostility among Whigs and Democrats was seldom suppressed, except during the presidential election campaigns and even then never completely. It was to be expected therefore that this disrupted condition in the two old parties would result in the formation of a new national party in 1854 which advocated certain political and moral principles attractive to the people of the Northwest. Thus the new Republicanism of the fifties arose chiefly from the rule of factions in the old-line parties.

There was a general tendency for the leaders in both political parties to form factions on the basis of origin and economic interests. It was very natural for men reared in similar environment, perhaps in the same State or even in the same community, to be close personal and political friends in Michigan and form a clique or faction within their party. Their views

on all questions, local and national, were quite likely to be similar. In both the Democratic and Whig parties the prominent men from New England and eastern New York tended to collect about a leader from their section and form a conservative faction in their respective parties while those from western New York and other sections recently reclaimed from the wilderness usually grouped about a radical leader from home. Of course there were exceptions, due mainly to early training, personal interests, or demands of constituents.

Four important factions developed in the Democratic party, viz., the office-holding, the conservative, the radical, and the western; and two in the Whig party: the radical, and the conservative.

Of these the office-holding faction was the earliest in the field and was the best organized and most strongly intrenched. This faction had been originated and built up by John Norvell, the postmaster at Detroit. His political skill and attractive personality kept the organization alive. When his power in politics was destroyed his followers immediately disbanded and the faction disappeared.

John Norvell was the son of a Virginian and was born in Kentucky in 1789.[69] He studied law, but became a journalist in Philadelphia. After publishing a paper for several years in that city, he came to Detroit in 1832 to take charge of the postoffice.

69. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), pp. 496-497; Col. Freeman Norvell, "The History and Times of the Hon. John Norvell," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, III, 140-148.

Having an inclination toward politics, he became within two years a strong leader in the Democratic party in Michigan and regarded every prominent politician who was not his friend, as his foe.[70] Feared by the conservative Democrats and hated by the Whigs,[71] he continued to perfect his factional organization and make his power over his followers more secure.

Norvell's followers consisted chiefly of lawyers, small farmers and politicians, who were supported by the poor and uneducated class in the rural districts of east-central Michigan and in Lenawee County on the southern border, and by the laborers and foreigners in the cities and towns in these sections. Many of the leading men in this faction had formerly resided in western New York, a few in New England, while some were naturalized citizens.[72] This was the element which controlled the Democratic party from 1835 to

70. This was the experience of Lucius Lyon. On March 22, 1836, he wrote: "I presume there is no man who shares more of his hatred than I do at the present time because I have never closed with him in any of his propositions for our mutual advancement. I know perfectly the cause of his feelings and I know too that I could have been on the very best of terms with him by saying I would be his political friend." *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVII, 488.

71. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 129, pp. 125, 210, 214, 221, 226, 235.

72. Of the office-holding faction in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, the record, as far as obtainable, shows the following: Place of birth: New York, 12; New England, 7, two of whom had resided in New York; Michigan, 2; other states, 3; foreign countries, 4. Occupation: small farmer, 8; lawyer, 6; merchant and farmer, 1; farmer and physician, 1; farmer and teacher, 1; mill owner, 1; surveyor, 2; Indian trader, 2; stone mason, 1; architect, 1; physician, 1; banker, 1. Fairly wealthy, 3.

1839 and was largely responsible for the elaborate plan of internal improvements, the General Banking Act, and for other radical measures.

The conservative Democrats were the chief opponents of the office-holders. As has been stated, there were some well-to-do men in the Democratic party. An additional number settled in the State each year. This class consisted chiefly of merchants, large land owners and well-to-do lawyers. Most of them came from New England.[73] They would not submit to the domination of John Norvell, and undertook therefore to break up the office-holding faction. It took several years to accomplish this task. It has been pointed out that the office-holders were strongly intrenched in the east-central counties. Consequently the conservative Democrats on the southern border, in the west and in the northeast formed a coalition for the purpose of breaking up the office-holding faction. Thus these factions tended to form the same sectional alignment as the Democratic and Whig parties.

Lucius Lyon of Kalamazoo and Elon Farnsworth of Detroit were the chief leaders of the conservative faction in the thirties, though General Cass assumed the leadership in the next decade. Both Lyon and Farnsworth had come from Vermont in 1822. Lyon was a land surveyor and civil engineer by occupation

73. The members of this faction in the Constitutional Convention have the following record: Place of birth: New England, 6; New York, 2; Michigan 1; other states, 3; foreign, 2. Occupation: farmer, 1; large farmer, 1; farmer, surveyor and millwright, 1; large land owner, 1; mill owner, 1; merchant, 1; lawyer, 2; Indian trader, 1; surveyor, 1; physician, 1; editor, 1. Wealthy men, 5.

and was a member of the Swedenborgian Church, while Farnsworth was a lawyer by profession and an Episcopalian in religious faith. The former had large land interests and during his public career he held the offices of Territorial Delegate and Senator and Representative in Congress. The latter was Chancellor of the State, Attorney General, and in 1839 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the office of Governor.[74]

The contest in the Constitutional Convention of 1835 over the elective franchise clause was the first indication that the Democratic party was split into the office-holding and conservative factions. As might be expected, most of the office-holders in this convention represented the counties in east-central Michigan and Lenawee County on the southern border, while the conservatives came from the counties in the south, the southwest and the north. John Norvell, chairman of the committee on suffrage, and his followers, wished to extend the privilege of voting at all elections to every white male inhabitant twenty-one years of age who had resided in the United States two years and in the State six months and had declared his intention of becoming a citizen, if he had not already been naturalized, and to every white male inhabitant who had resided in the Territory on the day when the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were elected.[75] This provision was introduced mainly to give the franchise to the foreign residents of Michigan. Most of the aliens residing in the Territory were poor

74. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), pp. 259, 426.
75. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, pp. 52, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 65-66.

and uneducated small farmers, artisans and laborers who for the purpose of improving their position in life had emigrated to this country and had settled for the most part in east-central Michigan where the office-holding faction was dominant. Through the efforts of the office-holders,[76] the aliens had been permitted to vote at the election of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention and had supported the candidates on the Democratic ticket.[77] Though the introduction of this liberal franchise clause can not be attributed entirely to sinister motives,[78] nevertheless, by means of its adoption, the office-holders doubtless hoped to secure the permanent support of the whole foreign voting population.[79]

The conservative Democrats[80] and the few Whig members[81] opposed this liberal suffrage clause and demanded the requirement of citizenship. The Whigs were especially hostile to this measure because they regarded the aliens as a reckless and ignorant element

76. *Journal of the Second Extra Session of the Territorial Council*, pp. 90, 93. An analysis of the votes shows that the members of the office-holding faction supported this measure.
77. Detroit *Journal and Courier*, June 24, 1835.
78. The theory of equality prevalent on the frontier played an important part.
79. This was what the Whigs said. See *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 129, p. 210.
80. Lyon Letters, *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVII, 468-469; *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, pp. 65-66, 67.
81. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, pp. 106-110. The four Whig members entered a protest in the Journal. The chief objection stated was that the foreigners could not in so short a time become sufficiently acquainted with our institutions and form of government to exercise the right of suffrage intelligently.

which was not yet capable of handling the ballot,[82]—as a class whose votes the Democratic politicians could obtain through corrupt means. On June 17, probably as a concession to the conservative members, Norvell introduced a substitute section which required citizenship[83] and with a slight change in wording this was incorporated in the constitution.[84]

The votes cast by the members of the Legislature in November, 1835, for the candidates for the office of United States Senator also showed that the Democratic party in Michigan was split into two factions. The sectional alignment was about the same as in the Constitutional Convention. The conservative Democrats in both houses and the Whigs in the lower house cast their votes for John Biddle, a prominent Whig residing in Detroit, while the office-holders supported John Norvell. In the Senate, which was composed of Democrats, Biddle was nominated on the second ballot by a vote of 10 to 6.[85] In the House on the other hand, Norvell was placed in nomination on the first ballot by a vote of 27 to 20.[86] In the joint session, Norvell was elected by a majority of seven.[87]

An especially convincing illustration of this division in the party occurred in the following year, 1836, during the controversy between Michigan and Ohio over the boundary. The conservative Democrats united with the Whigs for the purpose of opposing the

82. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 130, p. 186.
83. *Journal of the Convention*, p. 187.
84. *Ibid*, p. 207; Constitution of 1835, Article II, Section I.
85. *Senate Journal* (1835-36), p. 35.
86. *House Journal* (1835-36), p. 31.
87. *Ibid*, p. 32.

proposal of Congress for the admission of Michigan on condition that the people of the future State should resign the contested territory to Ohio and accept instead the Upper Peninsula.[88] The office-holders on the other hand urged the people to accept this proposal.[89] A vigorous campaign was waged for the election of delegates to the convention at Ann Arbor in September where the fate of the measure was to be decided. The coalitionists were victorious and the congressional proposal was rejected in the convention by a vote of 28 to 21.[90]

The leading conservative Democrats and the Whigs took this occasion to organize a State Rights party. The purpose of this organization was not only to nominate and elect to the Legislature such "persons as will sustain the rights of Michigan against the unjust claims of Ohio,"[91] but also to wage an effective campaign against the office-holding faction.[92]

The reports of the election in November disagree,[93] but the one which appeared in the Detroit *Advertiser* and the Monroe *Times* seems to be the more accurate.

88. Monroe *Times*, August 11, 18, 25, September 1, 8, 15, 22 and November 17, 1836; Niles *Gazette and Advertiser*, July 27, and August 3 and 10, 1836; Detroit *Advertiser* August 5 and 13, 1836.
89. Detroit *Free Press*, August 9, 13 and 24, 1836. This was the organ of the office-holding faction.
90. *Journal of the Convention*, p. 19. The delegation from Wayne county consisted of office-holders and all voted "yea."
91. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 12, 1836.
92. Detroit *Free Press*, November 5, 1836.
93. *Ibid*, November 29, 1836. This paper listed the House with twelve and the Senate with two State Rights members.

According to this report, twenty-five Democrats and twenty-three State Rights men were elected in the House, while the Senate was listed with ten Democrats, four State Rights members and two doubtful.[94] Most of the State Rights members in each house were elected from the counties in the north and the south, while a large portion of the office-holders came from east-central Michigan. Thus the same sectional alignment of north and south against center recurred.

The radical faction which was the third to be organized in the Democratic party but which eventually attracted more attention than any other was composed of the thorough-going reformers in the State; representatives of frontier conditions professing the purest type of frontier philosophy. A considerable portion of them came from among the more radical followers of John Norvell, but the majority were the pioneers who were rapidly settling the western and northern counties. A large number of the leading men in this faction were natives of western New York. Their constituents were small farmers, laborers and debtors, a class which was hostile to chartered banks, monopolies, and slavery; according to the leading Whig paper they were "anti-everything."[95] Among these radicals, there were many active workers in the anti-slavery societies and at a later date most of them went into the Free Soil and Republican parties.

Kinsley S. Bingham was the leader of this faction. In 1833 he had emigrated from west-central New

94. Monroe *Times*, December 1, 1836; Detroit *Advertiser*, December 5, 1836.
95. Detroit *Advertiser*, September 5, 1839.

York[96] and settled on a farm in Livingston County, Michigan, which at that time was one of the most frontier of frontier communities. Having an attractive personality and a rare ability to convert people to his opinions, he first dominated the party in his own county and soon became a prominent figure in State politics. His influence over the farmer class was equalled by few ante-bellum leaders. Bingham was a bitter opponent of slavery; as Congressman he was a Wilmot Provisoist of the deepest dye[97] and voted against the bill for the more effective rendition of fugitive slaves.[98] He was read out of the Democratic party in 1850;[99] he then joined the Free Soil party and four years later was elected Governor on the Republican party ticket.

The radical faction first attracted the attention of the public in 1838 by opposing a bill to suspend the General Banking Law. This bill was supported by the conservative Democrats and the Whigs in the Legislature of 1838.[100]. At the beginning of the year 1837 there were sixteen chartered banks in the State.[101] The poor people cried out against them. They said that these institutions were monopolies which the aristocracy used in order to control elections[102] and that

96. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), pp. 99-100.
97. See his speech on June 4, 1850 on the California bill. Published in pamphlet form.
98. *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1807.
99. Detroit *Free Press*, September 16, 1850.
100. *House Journal* (1838), pp. 289-290; *Senate Journal* (1838), pp. 257-258.
101. *House Journal* (1837), pp. 513-514. Annual report of the Bank Commissioners of Michigan.
102. Detroit *Free Press*, November 14, 1837.

they were monied monsters which had no regard for the welfare of the people.[103] The masses demanded that banking should be free so that the poor men as well as the rich might have an opportunity.[104] In order to satisfy the demands of such a constituency, the members of the Legislature of 1837 passed the General Banking Act, which permitted freeholders who had a limited amount of capital to start a bank.[105] Just as this "killer of all monopolies"[106] was the child of frontier philosophy, so the wild cat banks which followed were the illegitimate second generation. By April 3, 1838, forty-nine of these banks with a nominal capital of $3,915,000[107] had gone into operation.[108] Most of them flooded their communities with worthless notes and then failed.

Three years later Bingham led the opposition against a bill extending the time of the suspension of specie payments by the banks of the State. In spite of the tactics of the radical Democrats, the bill was finally passed by a small majority.[109]

The fourth and last important faction in the Democratic party in Michigan was formed by the leaders in the western part of the State and was largely a

103. *Michigan Historical Collections*, V, 211.
104. Utley and Cutcheon, *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, III, 99.
105. *Laws of Michigan* (1837), pp. 76-88. This bill passed the Senate by a vote of 14 to 1 and the House 39 to 4. *Senate Journal* (1837), p. 245; *House Journal* (1837), p. 217.
106. Monroe *Times*, February 23, 1837.
107. *Michigan Historical Collections*, II, 122.
108. *Ibid*, V, 214-215. A list of the banks is given.
109. *Senate Journal* (1841), pp. 316-327; *House Journal* (1841), pp. 533, 537, 553, 559.

product of the internal improvement issue. As has been pointed out, the Legislature passed a bill in 1837 providing for the construction at the expense of the State of three railroads east and west across the State. Since the eastern part of the State was much more thickly settled than the western the work was begun on the east end of these railroads. This aroused the jealousy of the western people. Their feeling of envy was noticeable in 1837 and it was greatly intensified in the following year when the commissioners of internal improvements were directed to expend on the east end of each of these works the money which had been appropriated.[110] To this the representatives from the west in the Legislature objected,[111] but since there were only a few members from this section their opposition was futile.

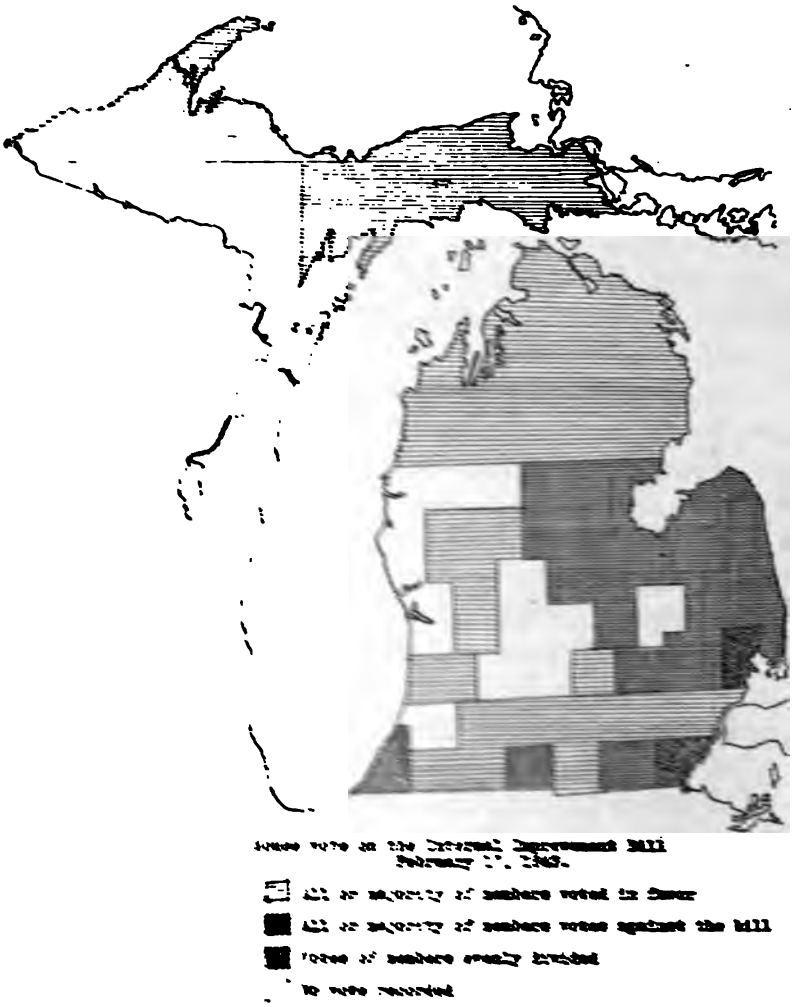
In the next few years the State debt became very large and the people in the west were suffering from heavy taxation. Nevertheless settlers continued to come into this section in large numbers.[112] Overwhelmed by the burden of the debt, the State had by 1843 dropped most of the works except the central and southern railroads. The people of the west at this time desired the completion of the central road;[113]

110. *Laws of Michigan* (1838), p. 154.
111. *House Journal* (1838), pp. 366-367.
112. Between 1837 and 1850, the population of the western counties trebled while that of the eastern counties did not quite double. See Lanman, *History of Michigan* (1839), pp. 305-306; *Compendium of the U. S. Census* (1850), pp. 254-255.
113. See petitions from citizens of the west, *House Journal* (1843), pp. 172, 256; Detroit *Advertiser*, February 4, 1843.

for it was believed that when finished this road would bring revenue sufficient to pay the interest on the State debt and part of the principal.[114] A representative from western Michigan declared in the Legislature in 1843 that the people of the north, the east, and the south were receiving the benefit from the railroads which the western farmer helped to build.[115] The majority of the members of the Legislature from the counties along the central line supported the bill appropriating money for the central and southern railroads, which when passed provided for the purchase of iron and spikes to lay the track of the central railroad as far as Marshall and the southern as far as Hillsdale, and authorized the Board of Internal Improvement to let such contracts for the construction of the central road from Marshall to Kalamazoo as could be paid for from the proceeds of sales of 150,000 acres of State lands. Those from the extreme east, the northeast and the southeast opposed it. Their opposition seems to have been due mainly to the fact that the people of the north received comparatively little benefit from these appropriations and that the central railroad was being extended much more rapidly than the southern. For several days the contest over this measure consumed the entire time of the House,[116] when finally it was passed by a vote of 30 to 22.[117]

The quarrel between the conservative and office-holding factions in the Democratic party continued

114. Detroit *Daily Gazette*, February 11, 1843.
115. *Ibid*, February 14, 1843.
116. *House Journal* (1843), pp. 269-289.
117. *Ibid*, p. 308; *Laws of Michigan* (1843), pp. 27-29.



throughout 1837 and 1838.[118] By 1839 the party was so badly disrupted that each of the four factions wanted its leader nominated as candidate for Governor.[119] The conservative Democrats controlled the State convention however, and nominated their leader, Chancellor Farnsworth.[120] Lucius Lyon, who was popular in the west, supported Farnsworth, but Norvell and his followers threw their strength to the candidate on the Whig ticket.[121] The result was that the Whigs came into office and the Democrats suffered a serious reverse because of factional fighting within the party.

Of the two factions in the Whig party, the radical and the conservative, the former was led by a group of Detroit politicians whom the members of the opposing faction contemptuously styled the "Canandaigua Clique"[122] or "city faction."[123] Many of the active leaders had come from western New York,[124]

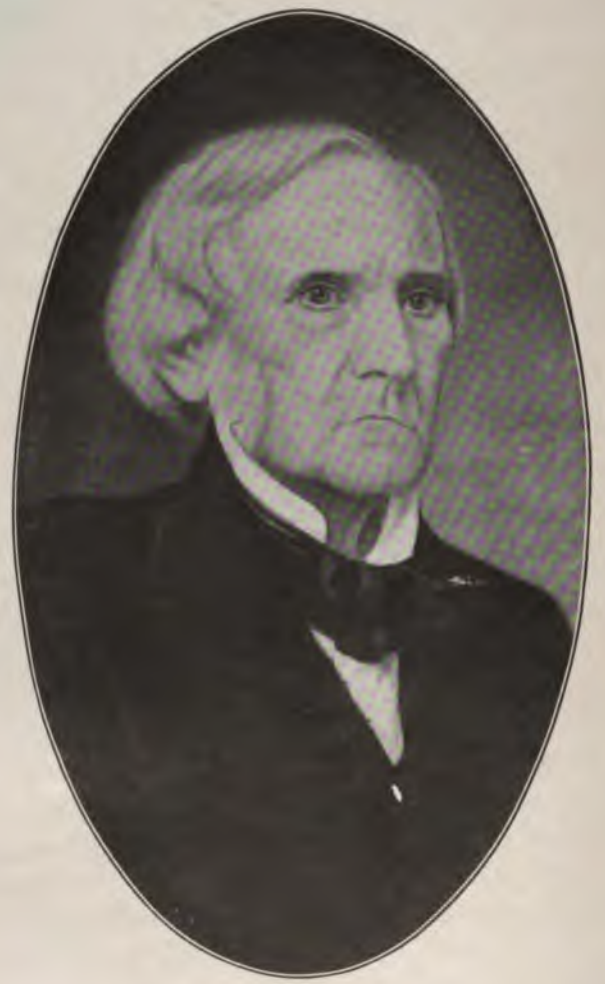
118. The conservative Democrats placed a Jeffersonian Democratic ticket in the field in 1837, nominating a conservative Democrat and a Whig for Governor and Lieutenant Governor respectively. Detroit *Advertiser*, September 26 and October 13, 1837; Detroit *Free Press*, September 29, October 10 and 14, 1837.
119. Detroit *Advertiser*, September 5, 1839.
120. Detroit *Free Press*, September 13, 1839.
121. Lucius Lyon to Elon Farnsworth, November 1 and 8, 1839, *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVII, 525.
122. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 133, p. 103; Vol. 136, p. 32.
123. *Ibid*, Vol. 132, p. 73.
124. The following is true of the radical Whigs in the Legislature of 1841: Place of birth: New England, 7; western New York, 4; eastern New York, 2; other states, 3. Occupation: large land owner and banker, 1; large land owner, 1; large farmer, 1; teacher and miller, 1; farmer, 3; lawyer, 6. Church membership: Episcopalian, 1; Baptist, 1.

while some of those who were living in Detroit had formerly resided at Canandaigua, New York. The majority of them were ambitious young lawyers[125] in the cities and country towns who aspired to office, but felt that while the party remained under the restraining influence of the older and more conservative men their political careers would be stunted. One purpose of the radical Whigs was therefore to "lay on the shelf"[126] all the old men whom they could not use. The leaders in the interior and their constituents were especially hostile to slavery and furnished a large part of the recruits to the Free Soil and Republican parties. In these respects this group of politicians constituted the radical faction in the Whig party.

Asher B. Bates was the most active leader of this faction, though Augustus S. Porter was the best known. Both men were prominent lawyers in Detroit and were natives of New York.[127] The latter was born in Canandaigua and the grandfather of the former had been a resident of that city. Bates had only a local reputation, while Porter served one term in the United States Senate in the forties.

The conservative faction in the Whig party was composed of monied men and large landowners who took relatively little part in politics. A large number of them were natives of New England, though some came from eastern New York and Virginia and a few from western New York.[128] These men represented

125. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 138, p. 130.
126. *Ibid*, Vol. 138, p. 130.
127. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, II, 1035-1036.
128. The record of the conservative Whigs in the Legislature of 1841 is as follows: Place of birth: New England, 3;



WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE

From the oil portrait in the Capitol, Lansing.

the wealthiest class in the State. They regarded the citizens of foreign birth as a reckless and ignorant element whose votes were controlled by Democratic politicians.[129] They feared that in the near future the aliens supported by unprincipled Democrats would seize control of the Government.[130] This group of men especially revered the Whig party and though opposed to slavery they tried in vain to prevent the disruption of their party in 1854. Finding this a hopeless task a large number of them organized the Know Nothing party. If the love of these men for their party, their fear of the domination of the foreigners in politics and their opposition to the agitation of the slavery question be taken as the test, they constituted par excellence the conservative faction in the Whig party.

William Woodbridge who was elected Governor in 1839 was the most influential member of the conservative faction. He was one of Michigan's most noted leaders in ante-bellum times and was one of the most conservative men in this period. He was born and educated in Connecticut, lived in Ohio for some years, and at the close of the war of 1812[131] he removed to Detroit, having been appointed Secretary of Michigan Territory. During his public career he was Secretary of the Territory, Territorial Delegate in Congress,

129. *Con.* eastern New York, 4; western New York, 2. Occupation: large land owner, 1; large farmer, 3; farmer, 1; merchant and lumberman, 1; lawyer, 2. Church membership: Presbyterian, 2; Congregational, 1.

129. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 129, p. 194; Vol. 130, p. 186.

130. George W. Wisner to Wm. Woodbridge, *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 136, p. 156.

131. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), p. 713.

Judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory, Governor of the State, and served as State Senator and United States Senator. As a member of the Congregational Church, Woodbridge was in both public and private life the strictest type of Puritan. Having rather a frail constitution he spent much of his time among his books and consequently did not mingle with the people as much as most men in public life; nevertheless he won their support by his high sense of duty, by his rigid honesty, and by force of character.

The first important break between the radical and conservative factions in the Whig party occurred in 1841 over the election of a United States Senator to succeed John Norvell. In the party caucus, the members of the radical faction nominated Lieutenant Governor Gordon.[132] The conservatives did not unite on any one candidate. The factional contest took place in the House. On the first ballot the Whig vote stood: Twenty for Gordon, four for Woodbridge, two for Conger and one each for three others.[133] On the following day the Whig opponents of Gordon and the Democratic members cast their votes for Woodbridge.[134] Woodbridge was elected in the joint session by this coalition of Democrats and conservative Whigs.[135]

In the next few years the feeling between the factions grew more bitter and the breach in the party became wider. In 1841 the radical Whigs nominated as candidate for Governor a man whom the conservatives

132. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 132, p. 73.
133. *House Journal* (1841), pp. 189-190.
134. *Ibid*, pp. 198-199.
135. *Ibid*, p. 200.

refused to support[136] and in the following year the factions struggled over the appointments to office in the State.[137] When President Tyler was read out of the party, a few of the leading radical Whigs remained loyal to him,[138] while the conservatives severed all connections with the President and condemned him.[139] This factional quarrel played a large part in keeping the Whig party out of office in the forties.[140]

While the Whigs were exhausting themselves in this factional warfare, the Democratic party was becoming more unified. In 1841 the factions united and nominated as candidate for Governor, John S. Barry, a prominent conservative, who was very popular with the masses. The conservative Democrats now getting control of the party crushed the power of their arch-enemy, John Norvell, and destroyed the office-holding faction.[141] The conservatives took advantage of the opportunity afforded by Norvell's downfall and by the popularity of the Barry administration, to build

136. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 133, p. 47; Detroit *Free Press'* October 21, 1841; Detroit *Advertiser*, July 1, 1843.
137. The chief bone of contention was the postmastership in Detroit. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 133, pp. 47, 48, 49, 52, 93, 103, 192.
138. *Ibid*, Vol. 135, pp. 89, 106, 246.
139. Some of the Whig papers reflect the attitude of this wing.
140. Wm. Woodbridge to Jabez W. Huntington, September 20, 1847, *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 138, p. 130.
141. John Norvell was condemned because as member of the Legislature of 1842 he supported the "exemption bill" and with the Whig members voted against every resolution to transfer the State printing from the *Advertiser* to the *Free Press*. See Detroit *Free Press*, February 21 and 28, March 2 and 9, August 9, 1842; Coldwater *Sentinel*, May 19, 1843; *C. C. Trowbridge Papers*, Vol. 412, p. 112.

up in eastern Michigan a faction which in a few years became more strongly intrenched than the office-holders had ever been.

The Republican party was largely a product of this factional development in the Democratic and Whig parties. In 1844 the radical faction in the Democratic party, which was opposed to the extension of slave territory, showed a mild dissatisfaction because the party advocated the annexation of Texas. Four years later the radical and western Democrats, both of whom believed in the principle set forth in the Wilmot Proviso, united and made such a severe attack on the conservatives who were advocates of the doctrine of popular sovereignty that a permanent split in the party almost resulted. The issues in national politics in the forties tended to unite the Whig party. Nevertheless the radical Whigs were such violent opponents of slavery extension that a large number of them joined the Liberty and Free Soil parties.

The southern secession movement and the compromise measures reunited the western and conservative factions in the Democratic party. But as a result of the issues in Federal politics the radical Democrats became more widely separated from the party and in 1854 most of them followed their leader into the Republican party. During this period the radical Whigs formed coalitions with the Free Soilers on several occasions, and in 1854 the majority of them went into the Republican party while the conservative wing organized the Know Nothing party.

CHAPTER II

Anti-Slavery Movement and the Organization of the Liberty Party

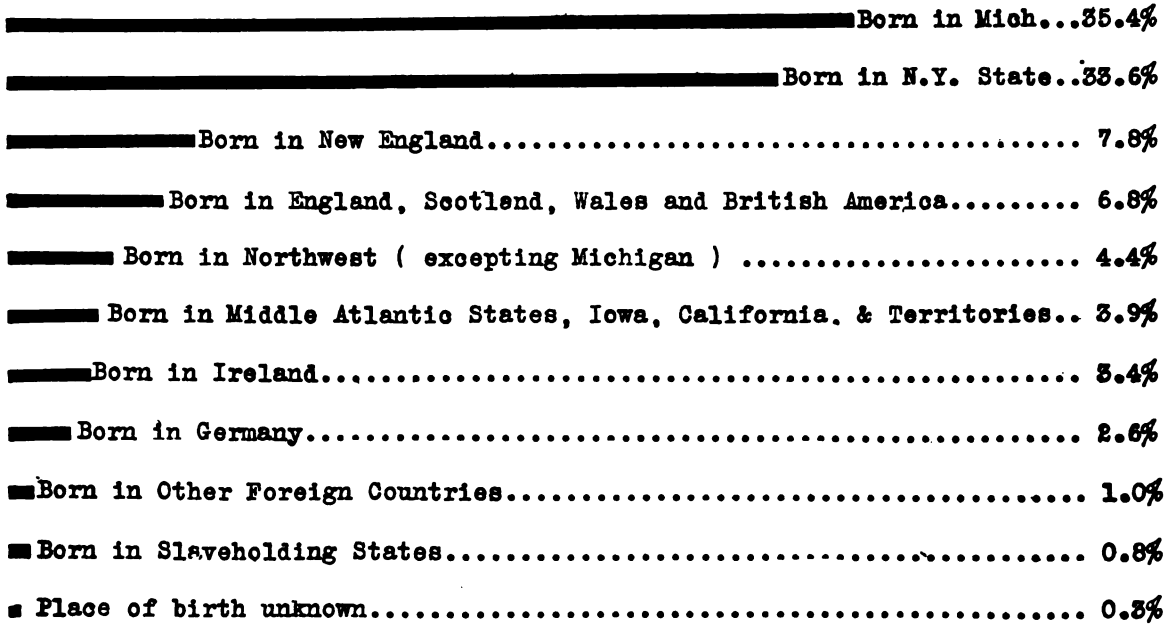
THE attitude of the people of Michigan toward the question of slavery was largely the product of their origin and social position, of the unceasing agitation in the State and outside of it, and the result of their feelings toward Negroes.

As has been stated in the preceding chapter, the great majority of the pioneer settlers came from western New York and New England. Though some of them emigrated from the Middle Atlantic States and from the States of the Northwest, very few came from the slaveholding States.[1] Therefore, since practically all the early settlers came from non-slaveholding States they had very little first-hand knowledge of the institution of slavery.

The greater portion of Michigan pioneers were the type of people which would readily oppose slavery. Most of them were young and did not have much money.[2] Imbued with the spirit of equality prevalent on the frontier, many of the early settlers disliked the social stratification existing in the South and failed to see that slavery might be a racial and social adjustment between the whites and Negroes in that section.

1. *Compendium of the U. S. Census of 1850*, pp. 116-118; Fuller in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 542.
2. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 544.

Origin of the population of Michigan in 1850 according to the Compendium of the U. S. Census of 1850, pp. 116-118


Born in Mich...35.4%
Born in N.Y. State..33.6%
Born in New England..... 7.8%
Born in England, Scotland, Wales and British America..... 6.8%
Born in Northwest (excepting Michigan) 4.4%
Born in Middle Atlantic States, Iowa, California, & Territories.. 3.9%
Born in Ireland..... 3.4%
Born in Germany..... 2.6%
Born in Other Foreign Countries..... 1.0%
Born in Slaveholding States..... 0.8%
Place of birth unknown..... 0.3%

This was the material upon which the agitator and the anti-slavery propagandist set to work and in due time moulded into that great political organization, the Republican party.

The radical factions in both the Democratic and Whig parties furnished a very large part of the members of the anti-slavery societies and of the Liberty party.[3] In 1838 the report of the American Anti-Slavery Society indicated that some of the local societies having the largest number of members were in communities settled mainly by people from New York.[4] Two years later the Liberty party was organized out of the more radical portion of the same element.

In the early days only a small portion of the inhabitants of Michigan joined the anti-slavery movement and this element consisted almost exclusively of native Americans. Very few foreigners took an active interest in this propaganda at any time prior to the war. The abolition organizations drew their strength largely from the small farmer class, though a large number of physicians and Protestant ministers were found among the leaders. These organizations had comparatively few supporters among the townspeople[5] because the merchants and the aliens held aloof from this movement.

The organization of anti-slavery societies was one

3. Many of the more conservative people were active in the organization of anti-slavery societies, who refused to take part in the formation of the third party.
4. *Report of American Anti-Slavery Society* (1838), p. 152.
5. This result has been ascertained by a study of the votes cast for the Liberty party in 1840 and of the report of the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society in *Report of American Anti-Slavery Society* (1838), p. 152.

of the earliest forms of agitation. The Friends in Lenawee County[6] led the way in the formation of these societies and the most active in this work were two Quaker ladies, Laura S. Haviland and Elizabeth Margaret Chandler. Mrs. Haviland and her husband removed to this county from New York State in 1829.[7] She was the daughter of a Quaker minister[8] and early in life she became a bitter opponent of slavery. As a resident of Michigan in the ante-bellum period, her chief work was the aiding of fugitive slaves to escape over the underground railroad.[9] Not less important was the short but active career of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, who came to Lenawee County from Philadelphia in 1830.[10] She was also reared in the simple faith of a Quaker and rendered considerable assistance with her pen to the abolition movement.[11] Under her leadership the "Logan Female Anti-Slavery Society"[12] was organized shortly after her arrival in Michigan. This was probably the first society of its kind in the

6. Mrs. Frank Dodge, "Land Marks in Lenawee County," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 481.
7. Mrs. Haviland, *Woman's Life Work*, p. 29.
8. *Ibid*, p. 9.
9. Mrs. Haviland also conducted a school in Lenawee County for indigent children, to which both black and white were admitted. She has told the story of her work in a very interesting account which she wrote in her old age.
10. Lundy's "Memoir" in the *Works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler*, p. 27.
11. She began to write in 1836 for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* edited by Benjamin Lundy. This editor has collected her writings which consist of poems and a series of essays called "Essays, Philanthropic and Moral."
12. Lundy's *Memoir*, p. 40.

State[13] and included among its members Quakers, Presbyterians and Wesleyan Methodists.[14] Not long after the formation of this society Miss Chandler made the following comment in a letter to a friend:[15] "Our members are as yet few, but an interest in the subject appears to increase through the neighborhood."

From this small and isolated organization the anti-slavery societies increased so rapidly in number and membership in the next few years that there was scarcely a county and in some sections scarcely a community which did not have at least one. In 1837 the Detroit Anti-Slavery Society was organized auxiliary to the State society.[16] In the spring of 1838 nineteen local societies were reported[17] and in the following year there were fifteen in Lenawee County alone.[18]

Meanwhile the anti-slavery element organized a State society for the purpose of carrying on a more effective campaign. In the fall of 1836 delegates from seven counties in Michigan together with a few from Ohio met in a convention at Ann Arbor and organized the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society. The purpose of this organization was "to convince all our fellow-citizens by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slave-holding is a crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety and best

13. Mrs. Haviland, *Woman's Life Work*, p. 32. She states that this society was the first in the State.
14. *Ibid*, p. 32.
15. Lundy's *Memoir*, p. 40.
16. Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, April 27, 1837.
17. *Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society* (1838), p. 152.
18. Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, p. 14.

interests of all concerned require its immediate abandonment." Any person who was not a slaveholder or slavetrader might become a member of this society.[19]

Next in importance to the work of the anti-slavery societies in the abolition agitation was the campaign conducted by some of the Protestant churches. Many of the Protestant ministers were active members of the anti-slavery organizations. The churches which took an especially active stand on the slavery question in the early days were the Baptist, the Congregational, and the Wesleyan Methodists.

Since no national governing body in the Baptist Church effectively suppressed the anti-slavery movement in the local churches, the abolitionist members in Michigan dominated the State church conventions in the early period and secured the adoption of resolutions expressing their views on the slavery question. These resolutions varied in tone from a mild protest against what they considered the greatest of national evils to a severe condemnation of it. The following resolution passed in 1840 was typical:[20] "That the sin of slavery will remain in all its hated forms in these United States until the professors of our holy religion take a decided stand against this evil, demoralizing to the slaveholder and destructive to the soul and body of the slave, and thus clear their skirts of the most cursed evil of the land." The church paper, the

19. *Proceedings of the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society* (1836). Published in pamphlet form.
20. *Minutes of the Convention* (1840). Printed in pamphlet form.

Michigan Christian Herald which was founded in 1842 and was edited most of the time until the war by two bitter opponents of slavery, seldom failed to condemn slavery in each issue.[21] The readers, who in many cases depended on this religious paper for their news and valued its statements second only to the teachings of the Bible, could not have remained unmoved by the scorching editorials on slavery which harmonized so well with their preconceived notions of this institution.

The Congregationalists kept pace with the Baptists in the progress of the anti-slavery movement in the church. From the time the young and more radical members cast off the Presbyterian control in 1842 and organized the Congregational Church[22] until the opening of the war, resolutions on the slavery question were adopted at almost every meeting of the General Association. As the slavery discussion became more heated, these resolutions grew more violent in tone. In 1843 a resolution was passed stating that the members believed that since slavery was a political, social and moral evil they should "strive diligently in the use of all legitimate means for the speedy and utter extermination of this complicated evil from the land."[23]

In the early days some of the leaders of the Presbyterian Church in Michigan opposed slavery in spite of the fact that such agitation would in time endanger the unity of the national organization. At the State Synod in 1836 a resolution was adopted urging "im-

21. For example see *Michigan Christian Herald*, June 19, 1843.
22. Pilcher, *History of Protestantism in Michigan*, pp. 424-425.
23. *First Fifty Years of Michigan Congregational Churches*, p. 191.

mediate abolition."[24] After considering other national sins in his Thanksgiving sermon in 1839, the Reverend George Duffield, pastor of the first Presbyterian Church of Detroit said:[25] "We cannot omit to notice the sin of slavery as one which specially condemns us. The spirit of Christianity once brought its mighty energies to bear, and from several of our States extirpated this fruitful source of evil and corruption.... However we may think, that while the legal right to emancipate vests in the slaveholding States, we of the north are not culpable, yet there are some things which might be prevented but while they are allowed, make us aiders and abettors of the system, criminal partakers of the sin, and guilty of contradicting, as well, the declaration of our independence, as the dictates of Christianity."

On the other hand, the national governing body in the Methodist Episcopal Church, fearing that the abolition movement would cause dissatisfaction among the Southern members and possibly lead to secession, attempted to prevent the Northern Methodists from taking part in this agitation. In 1836 and again in 1840[26] the Board of Bishops issued pastoral addresses to the members and friends of the church. In the first address, this body pointed out that the institution of slavery was beyond the control of ecclesiastical bodies, and strongly urged the ministers and members "to abstain from all abolition movements and associa-

24. Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times*, pp. 234-235.
25. Sermon printed in pamphlet form, p. 16.
26. Alexander, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, p. 11.

tions, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications; and especially from those of that inflammatory character which denounce in unmeasured terms those of their brethren who take the liberty to dissent from them."[27] The church papers in the East adopted a similar policy. One of them declared that the propagation of anti-slavery doctrines in the church would be unjust to the Southern members and would lead to disruption and secession.[28] The editor of this paper denounced the "Radico-Abolitionists," as he designated the element in the Northern churches which wanted the conference to take official action on the slavery question,[29] and condemned *Zion's Watchman*, the organ of the radical faction. In discussing the work of the *Watchman* the editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* said:[30] "Revolution in the State, and schism in the church, are promoted as far as its influence goes."

The leading Methodists in Michigan, following the example of the superior governing body and the press, adopted the same policy with reference to the abolition movement in the State church. In 1838 resolutions were passed at the State conference informing the members that it was their duty "to refrain from agitating the church, by forming abolition societies in or out of the church, or by attending Methodist

27. Matlack, *History of American Slavery and Methodism* (1849), pp. 42-43.
28. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, December 22, 1837, March 2, 1838, January 13, 1841.
29. *Ibid*, November 18, 1840.
30. Quoted in *Christian Advocate and Journal*, December 22, 1837.

abolition conventions," and furthermore, that it was also their duty not to patronize or circulate the *Zion's Watchman* because it was "anti-methodistical in its general course."[31]

Instead of checking the anti-slavery movement in the church in Michigan, the urgent request of the Board of Bishops, the advice of the press and the solicitation of the State conference gave it additional vigor and prepared the way for the secession of the abolitionist members. Contrary to the wishes of the leaders, the abolitionists held a meeting in Washtenaw County on February 9, 1839 and organized a State anti-slavery society.[32]

The abolition members began to secede from the church in 1839. When the delegates at the annual State conference in 1841 refused to ordain two abolitionists as elders,[33] an additional number of the anti-slavery members immediately left the church. On May 13, of this year, the seceders met in a convention and organized the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Michigan.[34] In 1843 a convention was held at Utica, New York, for the purpose of uniting the abolition element into the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America.[35]

31. Matlack, *History of American Slavery and Methodism* (1849), pp. 197-198.
32. *Ibid*, pp. 198-199. One of the first vice-presidents of this society was the Reverend Marcus Swift of Nankin and the secretary was the Reverend William Sullivan of Jackson.
33. *Ibid*, p. 304. These two men were Samuel Bebbins and Marcus Swift.
34. *Ibid*, pp. 303-304.
35. *Ibid*, pp. 305-306, 332-333. In 1843 there were 36 preachers and 1,116 members in this church, scattered throughout Michigan.

The opponents of slavery increased very rapidly in number in the Methodist Episcopal Church. During the fifties the annual conferences adopted resolutions far more vehement in their denunciation of slavery and more vigorous in their demand for the eradication of what they considered the greatest of national evils than any of the arguments advanced by the most violent of these early agitators.

Besides the agitation in the churches, the children in the schools of Michigan were probably taught anti-slavery principles, at least in the territorial and early statehood period. Selections advocating abolition doctrines were published in many of the school text-books. *The English Reader*, by Lindley Murray, which was published at Baltimore in 1824, contained one of Cowper's poems entitled, "Indignant Sentiments on National Prejudices and Hatred; and on Slavery."[36] This same poem appeared in the new editions published at New York in 1825, at Brattleborough, Vermont without any date, and at Newark, New Jersey in 1842. Under the section on Africa in Peter Parley's *Method of Telling about Geography to Children*, published at Philadelphia in 1838, there was an account of slave catching on the Guinea coast, together with a picture to illustrate the story.[37] A poem written by Bryant entitled, "The African Chief," which told the story of a proud chief who fretted himself to death rather than submit to slavery, appeared in Moses Severence's *The American Manual or New English Reader*.[38]

36. See page 215.
37. See pages 96-97.
38. See p. 171. This book was published at Cazenovia, New York in 1839.

Reverend J. L. Blake's *The Historical Reader* contained two articles, one on human slavery, the other on the origin of African slavery; and a poem entitled, "The Negro's Complaint."[39] In John Pierpont's *American First Class Book*, there were two poems[40] on American slavery from the English viewpoint and an extract from Webster's discourse on the "Slave Trade."[41]

Because of the lack of adequate data on the subject, it is impossible to say whether or not all these texts were used in the schools of Michigan. The extent to which the selections in these books were used for the purpose of instilling abolition doctrines in the minds of the pupils depended largely upon the teacher, and upon whether or not the patrons of the school permitted the teacher to speak openly on this subject. But since practically all the educated folks came from non-slaveholding States and a very large portion of these were strong opponents of slavery, it is probable that many teachers availed themselves of this opportunity to direct the younger generation into what they regarded the right paths respecting this issue. Furthermore the fact that the children read these selections and looked at the illustrations undoubtedly made a lasting impression on their minds, even though the teachers made no attempt to influence them on the question.[42]

39. See pp. 328-336. This was published at Concord, N. H., (1828).
40. One poem was written by Cowper and the other by Montgomery.
41. See pp. 181-183. This volume was published at Boston and New York in 1840. Webster's speech was delivered at Plymouth, Massachusetts on December 22, 1820.
42. When the son of Senator William Woodbridge accompanied

The aiding of fugitive slaves to reach Canada over the underground railroad was another effective means of agitating the slavery question. The numerous routes of Indiana and some of those of Ohio carried hundreds of passengers through Michigan on their way to Detroit.[43] The most important stations in Michigan were in Cass County, at Battle Creek, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Adrian and Detroit. The Quakers were the most active agents on these roads, though the members of other churches and some people who were not connected with any church aided in this work.[44] From the escaping blacks the people along the routes doubtless heard many tales of cruel treatment to which the slaves in the South were subjected. Most of the fugitives probably gave a true account of their own misfortunes and hardships, but it would be natural for those who had no good reason for escaping, to tell a story appropriate for the occasion. These Negroes, fleeing from the slave States to the land of freedom and in most cases suffering as the result of many days of travel and exposure, presented a spectacle

42. *Con.* his father to Washington in the spring of 1841, he stopped at Wheeling, Virginia. He had never been in a slave State before, but he was prejudiced against slavery. In a letter to his mother, he expressed his surprise at the kind treatment given to the slaves by their masters. His preconceived notions had come either from school books or from some other source. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 132, p. 88.

43. See the map for the underground routes.

44. Among the active agents of the Quaker faith were Stephen Brogue, Isaac Bonine and Zachariah Shugert of Cass County; Erastus Hussey of Calhoun County; and Thomas Chandler of Lenawee County. Laura S. Haviland united with the Methodist Church after she came to Michigan.

"Underground" Routes to Canada

Taken from Siebert's "The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom", p.113

pathetic enough to have aroused the sympathy of more hardened people than these kind-hearted sentimental country folks who dwelt along the underground routes. These people, moved to compassion by the sad sight before them and by the tragic tales of woe so simply told by these fugitives, were led to condemn the institution of slavery as a whole.

The feelings of the white people of Michigan toward Negroes determined to a large extent their attitude on the question of slavery. The majority of the citizens of the State knew very little about the racial characteristics of the typical blacks in the slave-holding States. There were very few Negroes residing in Michigan in ante-bellum times[45] and practically all of them were the most highly civilized members of the race. The white settlers, having emigrated from the Northern States came to Michigan with very little antipathy toward Negroes, and since they saw in the State none of the low type of blacks so common in the South, their race animosity did not increase.[46] On the contrary, in the heat of the slavery agitation the radicals not only demanded that color as a qualification for voting should be stricken from the Constitution of 1835 but they even began to regard these Africans as the equals of the white race.[47] In the eyes

45. There were about 700 Negroes in Michigan in 1840 and a little over 2,500 in 1850. *Compendium of the Census of 1840*, p. 93; *Census of 1850*, p. 886.

46. The Negro was seldom mentioned by the papers of Detroit where the blacks were most numerous. The Whig press praised their industry on several occasions.

47. Marshall *Statesman*, December 23, 1845; Report of Austin Blair on the extension of the suffrage to Negroes. Detroit *Advertiser*, May 6, 1846; *Signal of Liberty*, February 17,

of these propagandists and their followers it was therefore much worse to enslave a race which they believed was the equal of their own than it would be to hold inferiors in bondage.

Agitation of the slavery question was well enough but the practical westerners wanted to vote. As early as 1836 the members of the anti-slavery societies in the Northwest began to feel that they could not conscientiously support candidates for office who did not stand for the principles which they advocated.[48] Consequently the abolitionists of Michigan first tried the plan of questioning the candidates. In 1838 the candidate for Congressman on each party ticket was asked first, whether he favored the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; second, how he stood on the prohibition of the interstate slave trade; third, whether he favored the acknowledgment of the independence of Hayti and the establishment of the same commercial relations with that island as with the most favored nations; and lastly, whether he was opposed to the annexation of Texas.[49]

This system of questioning the candidates did not of course bring the desired results. The alternative open to the anti-slavery element in Michigan was the organization of a third political party. The abolitionists of Jackson County were so disappointed in

47. *Con.* September 29, 1845. In the State convention, the Liberty party adopted the following resolution: "That the denial of suffrage to taxpayers because the almighty wisdom has dictated their color, is a cringing to slavery, mean and utterly repugnant to republican principles."
48. *The Philanthropist*, September 23, 1836; *Ibid*, June 23, 1837.
49. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 8, 1838.

1839 over the outcome that they made independent nominations,[50] whereupon the officers of the State Anti-Slavery Society, who were too conservative to sanction such a radical act, tried to evade all responsibility by issuing a declaration to the effect that they had no part in the making of these nominations. In the following year the formation of a third party was an important topic for discussion at the meeting of the State society. The committee on resolutions recommended "independent political action;" but after a long and heated debate between the conservative and radical delegates who represented the two opposing elements in the society the question was indefinitely postponed.[51]

While the conservatives were thus suppressing the attempt to organize a third political party, the abolitionists from some of the other States met in a convention at Albany on April 1, 1840, organized the Liberty party and nominated James G. Birney and Thomas Earle for President and Vice President.

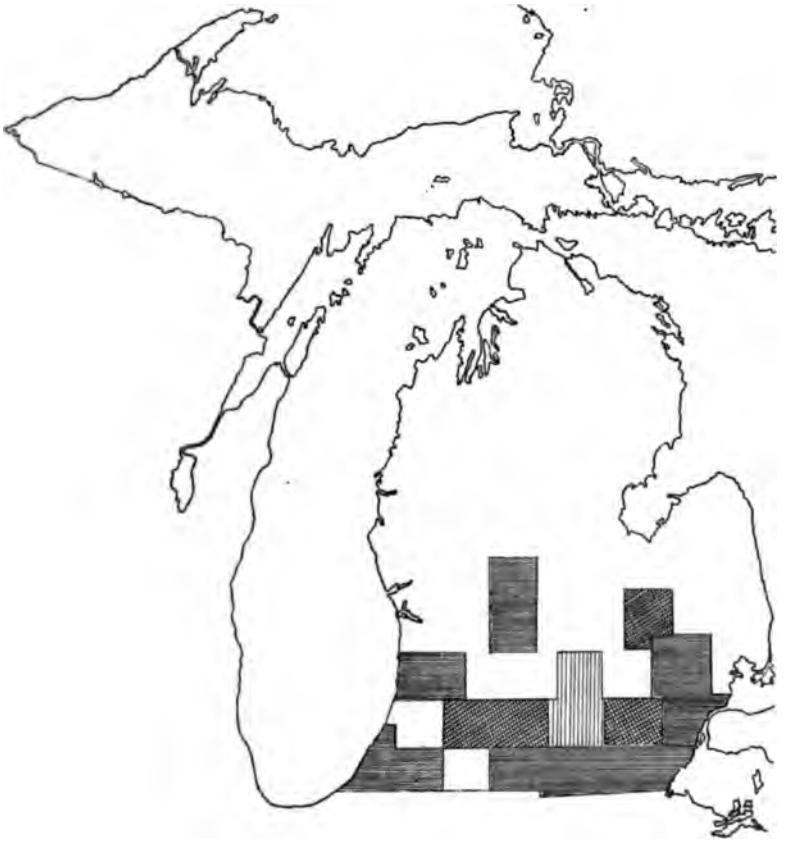
The radicals in the Michigan society were nothing daunted by their defeat in the State convention of the society early in 1840. During the summer a call signed by several of them was issued requesting "all the friends of equal justice and equal liberty for man, in the State, irrespective of societies, sects, or parties *who are favorable to responding to, and sustaining*" the candidacy of Birney and Earle, to meet at Jackson on August 5 for the purpose of nominating presidential electors and a candidate for Congress.[52]

50. Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, p. 32.
51. *Western Statesman*, March 12, 1840.
52. Detroit *Free Press*, July 20, 1840.

On the appointed day delegates representing both the radical and conservative elements appeared at Jackson. The radicals were determined to organize a political party, while it appeared that the conservatives intended to spend the time in a fruitless discussion of the subject. As soon as the convention was called to order, the latter precipitated a quarrel by presenting the name of one, Rand, as a member of the committee for receiving the names of the delegates. The radicals immediately raised the objection that he was opposed to the formation of a third party. The conservatives attempted to sustain the nomination and a heated debate ensued. At length the conservatives, probably seeing defeat ahead, left the convention, and the radicals remained and made the nominations.[53]

This year the Liberty party polled 294 votes in sixteen counties.[54] In proportion to the total vote cast in Michigan, the third party received twice as many votes as it did in any other State in the Northwest and more than in any State in the Union.[55] In the next few years the Liberty party in Michigan retained the leadership which it had acquired in this first election. The relatively large vote of the third party in the State resulted from at least three causes. First, the abolition party was primarily a western movement; second, the other two political parties had not yet become so firmly established in Michigan as they had in some of the other States in the North-

53. Detroit *Advertiser*, August 10, 1840.
54. *Ibid*, November 23, 1840.
55. Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, p. 46.



Vote for James G.Birney, Liberty party candidate for President in 1840, in per cent of the total vote

- Less than 1 per cent
- 1 to 2 per cent
- Above 2 per cent
- No returns

west; and in the third place, a very large portion of the residents were young,—the type of people who would be easily influenced by the abolition movement.

Early in 1841 the abolitionists held a State party convention, selected a State committee and nominated candidates on the State ticket, for the State Senate in three districts, and made at least twenty-five nominations for the House.[56] This was the first Liberty party State ticket in the Northwest.[57] In April the State anti-slavery society adopted a resolution declaring that it was in favor of the Liberty party.[58] The vote for Governor in November was: Democratic 20,993; Whig 15,449; and Liberty 1,223.[59]

James G. Birney, who at this time was a resident of the Saginaw Valley,[60] took the stump in the campaign. In 1843 he was nominated as candidate for Governor and L. F. Stevens for Lieutenant Governor. This year the abolitionists nominated candidates in all three congressional districts, six candidates for the State Senate and at least twelve for representatives.[61] The party polled 2,776 votes in November.[62] Two years later Birney became an invalid, and since Michigan had no other leader to take up his work the party began to decline.

In the above discussion it has been pointed out

56. *Ibid*, p. 55.
57. *Ibid*, p. 52.
58. *Western Statesman*, May 6, 1841.
59. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
60. Birney, *Life of James G. Birney*, p. 359.
61. *Michigan Argus*, September 13 and December 6, 1843; Niles *Republican*, September 2, 1843; Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, p. 58.
62. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.

Vote for James G.Birney for President in 1844
in per cent of the total vote
Less than 5 per cent
5 to 8 per cent
9 to 15 per cent
No returns.

that the people of Michigan joined the early abolition movement for the following reasons: In the first place, the greater portion of the people came from non-slaveholding States, mainly from New York and New England, and therefore they had little first-hand knowledge of the true conditions in the South; second, there was unceasing agitation through the organization of anti-slavery societies, in the Protestant churches and probably in the schools; third, the people only came in contact with the exceptional Negroes in the State and consequently they greatly overestimated the advancement of the Africans in the slave States; fourth, the passengers over the underground routes probably gave exaggerated accounts of the cruel treatment of slaves in the South; lastly, Michigan was a frontier State,—the majority of the inhabitants were young and poor; a type to whom the slavery agitation would especially appeal.

It has been shown also that the organization of the Liberty party was primarily a western movement. It drew its strength chiefly from the radical factions in the old-line parties, though very few leaders of these parties united with the third party. The educated people, especially the physicians and the ministers in the Protestant churches, the small farmers, and the laborers, furnished a large portion of the abolitionists.

CHAPTER III

Effect of Territorial Extension and the Tariff Issues

THE questions of territorial expansion and the adjustment of the tariff were important issues before the people of the United States in the forties and had considerable influence on Michigan politics. The annexation of Texas was an issue which tended to unite the conservative and radical factions in the Whig party, though a number of radicals joined the abolitionists in 1844 because they were dissatisfied with the position of the Whig party on this question. The tariff question had a solidifying influence on the Whig party in 1842, but in about two years it caused a split between the monied men, who, because of the benefit derived or for some other reason were staunch advocates of a high tariff, and the farmers and laborers in the party who had begun to feel by this time that the tariff of 1842 was injurious to the agricultural interests, and who for this reason demanded that the duties should be lowered.

These issues had the reverse effect on the Democratic party in Michigan. The annexation issue gave the first indications of a split between the radical Democrats and the rest of the party over the slavery question, —a question which continued to disturb the leaders, to create dissension among their constituents, and in the end was largely the cause of the downfall of the

party. On the other hand the Democrats were almost unanimous in their opposition to a protective tariff.

The annexation of Texas was the first important issue which introduced the slavery question into Michigan politics. As early as 1838 petitions protesting against annexation were presented to both Houses of the Legislature, and in each case they were referred to a committee[1] which reported resolutions. The two resolutions reported in the Lower House instructed the Senators and requested the Representatives in Congress to vote against annexation and those in the Upper House protested against the consummation of this measure.[2] On January 25 the resolutions in the Lower House were passed separately[3] and on March 31 the Senate adopted those which its committee had reported.[4] Two days later the Senate resolutions were transmitted to the House and passed.[5]

The Whigs opposed annexation chiefly because it would extend slave territory. On September 20, 1843, the Detroit *Advertiser* declared that, if Texas was annexed, the political ascendency of the slaveholding States would be established and that the North would become a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the South." In the State convention on July 4 of the following year, the Whigs adopted a resolution stating that they objected to the extension of the

1. *House Journal* (1838), p. 46; *Senate Documents* (1839), p. 300.
2. *House Journal* (1838), pp. 88-89; *Senate Documents* (1839), pp. 304-305.
3. *House Journal* (1838), pp. 107-108.
4. *Senate Journal* (1838), p. 343.
5. *House Journal* (1838), pp. 405-406.

boundary of the United States and that "its extension for the avowed purpose of extending and perpetuating the institution of slavery will be opposed under all circumstances."[6]

The party objected to this measure also on the ground that it was unconstitutional and would lead to war with Mexico. In the State convention a resolution was passed declaring that annexation would be "unconstitutional and opposed to the principles of Republican freedom."[7] The State convention of Clay clubs,[8] the party press,[9] and the convention of the first congressional district regarded this project as a violation of the treaties with foreign powers, as a declaration of war against Mexico, and as an infringement on the Constitution of the United States.

The annexation issue more closely united the factions in the Whig party. During the campaign the Whigs forced into the background the factional quarrels which had almost rent the party asunder in the early forties. The press and the party leaders made a great effort to secure for Clay a large majority of the votes in the State and would probably have succeeded had it not been for the secessions from the Whig ranks and the fact that the foreigners and Roman Catholics cast an almost unanimous vote for Polk.

In spite of the efforts of the leaders, a large number of the most radical Whigs who were eager to prevent annexation and were dubious of Clay's position on

6. Detroit *Advertiser*, July 9, 1844.
7. *Ibid*, July 9, 1844.
8. *Ibid*, July 12, 1844.
9. *Ibid*, April 23 and September 3, 1844; *National Intelligencer*, March 16, 1844; Marshall *Statesman*, April 11, 1844.

this question, supported the abolitionist candidate whose views were well known. With these accessions, the third party reached its zenith this year.[10] The leaders and the editor of the party organ, though not expecting to elect Birney, strenuously opposed annexation and assailed the position of both Polk and Clay on this question.[11] After the election, a correspondent of the Detroit *Advertiser* writing from Washtenaw County said that the "abolitionists with the zeal of fanatics and the fury of mad men did all they could to defeat the Whigs and indirectly aid the election of Polk and the annexation of Texas."[12] In the following year the third party adopted a resolution at the State convention declaring that since the purpose of annexation was to extend slavery and consolidate the "already excessive slave power" the friends of the Union ought to "render insecure the false tenure by which slaveholders claim property in man."[13]

Nevertheless there was at least a small disaffection in the Liberty party. During the campaign of 1844 twenty-four abolitionists of Washtenaw County issued

10. The abolitionist vote was about 1,000 more than in 1843 and 600 more than in 1845.
11. "Polk is for *immediate* annexation. Clay is for it as soon as it can be had upon such terms as he may think to be peaceable, honorable, just and fair. Here is the only difference between the parties. The question is not 'Shall Texas be annexed? But when and how shall it be annexed?' What have the Liberty men to do with this issue? Let the pro-slavery parties settle it between themselves: but let us redouble our exertions against the abominable project." Quoted from the *Signal of Liberty*, in the Detroit *Free Press*, September 12, 1844.
12. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 16, 1844.
13. *Signal of Liberty*, February 17, 1845.

an address stating that the third party could not expect to overthrow slavery immediately in every section of the country, but that by casting their votes for Clay the members of this party could prevent the annexation of Texas.[14]

The annexation issue also indicated that there was a division in the Democratic party between the conservatives and the radicals over the slavery question. The radical element, it will be remembered, consisted of the debtors and the small farmers, who, under the leadership of Kinsley Bingham, had fought monopolies and chartered banks in the thirties; and according to the Whig organ at Detroit they were "anti-everything."[15] There was however no open discord between the factions in 1844 and on the surface everything appeared quiet, yet among the radicals a feeling of opposition to the extension of slave territory can be observed.[16]

Robert McClelland of Monroe County was the chief spokesman of the anti-slavery element at this time, though Bingham probably gave moral support. McClelland was born in Pennsylvania[17] and at an early date settled in Monroe, Michigan, where he became a leading lawyer and politician. In 1843 he was elected the Representative in Congress from the first congressional district and served three terms.

14. Detroit *Advertiser*, September 9, 1844.
15. *Ibid*, September 5, 1839.
16. The Democratic papers in communities where the sentiment against slavery was strong had very little to say about the annexation of Texas. This was true of the Coldwater *Sentinel*. It emphasized the tariff issue concerning which there was little divergence of opinion among Democrats.
17. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), p. 444.

Though an opponent of slavery extension he supported Polk in 1844[18] and always remained in the party. He took a middle ground[19] between the conservative tendencies of such leaders of New England ancestry as Cass and Lyon on the one hand and the ultra-radicalism of a New Yorker like Bingham on the other.[20] In State politics he was a member of the conservative faction,[21] but on the slavery issue he was the mouthpiece of the large anti-slavery constituency in the western part of his district.[22] In 1845 he voted against the joint resolution annexing Texas[23] and a few years later was a zealous advocate of the Wilmot Proviso.[24]

It has been pointed out in the first chapter that under the Barry administration the conservative Democrats were the dominant element in the party. General Cass and Lucius Lyon, two leaders of this faction, directed the course of the party in the campaign of 1844, and their influence probably kept in check any radical outburst. Both ardently supported the Democratic candidate for President. The General's influence was not only statewide but national in its extent. Lyon, as captain of the Democracy in the

18. He took the stump during the campaign.
19. In 1851 he was elected Governor on a ticket which was supported by both Democrats and Free Soilers.
20. It has been pointed out in the first chapter that there was a tendency for the natives of New England to form the conservative group and the New Yorkers the radical.
21. *Felch Papers*, Vol. 830, p. 157.
22. *Ibid*, Vol. 831, p. 163; *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 136, p. 186. The first district comprised the counties of Monroe, Lenawee, Hillsdale, Wayne and Washtenaw.
23. *Cong. Globe*, 28th Cong, 2nd Sess., p. 194.
24. His attitude on this question is discussed in the next chapter.

LUCIUS LYON

From the oil portrait in the Capitol, Lansing.

Grand River Valley, led his forces behind the Polk standard[25] and won a great victory for his party in that section. In the following year he was the only one of the three Representatives from Michigan who voted for the joint resolution of annexation.[26]

The party press and the leaders of the conservative element avoided the slavery question, probably for the purpose of obtaining the votes of the radical constituents. In communities where the anti-slavery sentiment was strong the editors of the Democratic papers seldom mentioned the annexation issue.[27] On April 25, 1844, a group of conservative Democrats in Detroit held a Texas meeting at which they adopted a resolution stating that annexation would cause slavery to move southward and thus hasten its extirpation in the border States.[28] The editors of the *Free Press*, the *Michigan Argus* and the Grand Rapids *Enquirer* advanced similar arguments through the columns of their papers.[29] In a letter dated May 2, Lyon requested General Cass to write an "anti-British letter" in favor of annexation, but urged him not to say a word about slavery.[30]

On the other hand, the leading Democrats made a

25. Lucius Lyon to General Cass, Lyon Letters, *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVII, 582-583. Lyon was a resident of Grand Rapids at this time and had large land interests in this section.
26. *Cong. Globe*, 28th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 194.
27. This was true of the Coldwater *Sentinel*. The editor was a conservative Democrat.
28. Detroit *Free Press*, April 27, 1844.
29. *Ibid*, June 28, 1844; *Michigan Argus*, June 26, 1844; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, April 26, 1844; Monroe *Advocate* quoted in Detroit *Advertiser*, August 19, 1844.
30. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVII, 578-579.

strong appeal to the American fear and jealousy of English ambition. The papers printed articles, written in very impressive language which set forth the dangers to the United States in case the British Government obtained control of Texas.[31] On January 27 some of the friends of General Cass who wanted to see him nominated for the Presidency held a meeting in Detroit and adopted a resolution urging annexation in order to prevent England from seizing Texas.[32] In the letter of May 2, Lyon told Cass to write a "forcible, patriotic, anti-British letter" in favor of annexation and to "treat it as a western as well as a southern question and above all as a great national question."[33]

In accordance with this suggestion a letter from General Cass addressed to Hon. Edward Hannegan appeared in the *Free Press* on May 22, which read in part as follows: "What more favorable position could be taken for the occupation of English black troops, and for letting them loose upon our southern States, than is afforded by Texas? .... Every day satisfies me more and more that a majority of the American people are in favor of annexation. Were they not, the measure ought not to be effected. But as they are, the sooner it is effected the better."

A vigorous and enthusiastic campaign was waged during the summer and fall of 1844. While the abolitionists with the "zeal of fanatics and the fury of mad men" were doing all that they could to defeat

31. Niles *Republican*, June 1, 1844; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, April 26, 1844; Detroit *Free Press*, June 28, 1844.
32. Detroit *Free Press*, January 27, 1844.
33. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVII, 578-579.

the Whigs, the latter were arousing enthusiasm for Clay by organizing Clay clubs and holding great mass meetings. Early in January a Clay club was holding meetings in Detroit[34] and during the spring, clubs were organized in other places.[35] These clubs usually met once each week. On July 5 delegates representing the Clay clubs in twenty-one counties met in a State convention at Marshall. At this meeting a State organization was effected.[36] On the preceding day the Whigs had held a great mass meeting at Marshall,[37] and on October 17 they held another at Detroit.[38] At these meetings the program usually consisted of a long procession in which many bands took part and numerous banners suitable for the occasion were displayed;[39] after the parade, noted men delivered political speeches to the people.

The Whigs did not out-do the Democrats. In March the Democrats of Detroit organized an association for the purpose of promoting the party's principles.[40] Similar organizations were formed in other parts of the State. During the summer and fall many mass meetings were held,[41] on which occasions,

34. Detroit *Advertiser*, January 6, 1844.
35. *Oakland Gazette*, April 9 and 24 and May 1, 1844; Marshall *Statesman*, February 15, 1844.
36. *Oakland Gazette*, July 17, 1844.
37. *Ibid*, July 10, 1844.
38. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 19, 1844.
39. At the Detroit meeting, the Macomb delegation had a banner representing a large hand with these inscriptions on the thumb and fingers: "Protection," "Sound Currency," "Internal Improvements," "Distribution," "No Annexation." These were Henry Clay's cards.
40. Detroit *Free Press*, March 23, 1844.
41. *Ibid*, July 10, 13, 15, 31, August 19, September 12, 1844.

in addition to processions, music and speeches to arouse enthusiasm the Democrats raised hickory poles. "Young hickory, Dallas and victory" was the campaign cry. The *Free Press* pictured Clay as a "Two-faced demagogue;" one face saying to the North that he was opposed to annexation, the other to the South that personally he had no objections to the measure.

In November Polk received 27,703 votes; Clay 24,237; and Birney 3,632.[42] The Democrats elected all the members of the State Senate and forty-five Representatives in the House while the Whigs only elected eight in the latter body.[43] The results of the election showed that the old sectional alignment of parties was breaking down. The Democratic party was becoming relatively weaker in the south-central counties where the population was rapidly increasing and the slavery agitation was most violent. This party polled the largest vote in the Grand River Valley and in the extreme southwest and southeast.[44] The Whigs on the other hand carried the counties in the Saginaw Valley, but they lost many of those in the center and south chiefly because of the abolition disaffection.

In 1845 the anti-slavery element continued to remonstrate against annexation and presented a number of petitions to the Legislature.[45] Nevertheless joint

42. *Ibid*, November 23, 1844.
43. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 27, 1844.
44. Large numbers of foreigners and Roman Catholics resided in the southeastern counties and voted the Democratic ticket.
45. *House Journal* (1845), pp. 46, 95, 223, 243, 297; *Senate Journal* (1845), p. 69.

Presidential election of 1844
For Polk, less than 50 per cent of total vote
" " 50 to 55 " " " " "
" " 55 to 69 " " " " "
Plurality for Clay
No returns

resolutions instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives in Congress to effect the annexation of Texas at the earliest practical period were introduced in both Houses. On January 23 the resolution in the Senate was passed by a vote of 16 to 0,[46] and that in the House by 37 to 10.[47] After postponing indefinitely the preamble, the Senate adopted the House resolution on the 30th;[48] on the following day the House concurred in the action of the Senate and on February 3 the Governor approved the resolution.[49]

As to the Oregon question, the people of Michigan, regardless of party affiliation, were in favor of the occupation of Oregon. As in the case of Texas, the party leaders and the press advanced arguments which appealed to the American hatred of the British Government. General Cass[50] and the Democratic party press[51] were especially outspoken in the contention that the United States had a right to Oregon as far as "fifty-four forty." At three sessions of the Legislature resolutions were passed which instructed the Senators and requested the Representatives in Congress to obtain the adoption of measures declaring that the United States had an incontestable title to the whole of Oregon to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes,

46. *Senate Journal* (1845), p. 58.
47. *House Journal* (1845), p. 84.
48. *Senate Journal* (1845), p. 74.
49. *House Journal* (1845), p. 114; *Laws of Michigan* (1845), p. 154.
50. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, pp. 223-224.
51. Detroit *Free Press*, April 29 and May 29, 1845; Niles *Republican*, November 2, 1844; *Michigan Argus*, August 5, 1846; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, January 23, 1846.

and notifying the British Government that joint occupation should cease.[52] At a meeting in Detroit on January 27, 1844, the friends of General Cass adopted a resolution urging the occupation of this territory.[53]

In 1844 the editors of the Whig press had very little to say on the Oregon question, though the party probably favored occupation. In the following year the Detroit *Advertiser* and the *Oakland Gazette* maintained that the United States had a right to the whole of this territory, but both stated that it should be acquired without war.[54]

The protective tariff issue, providing a principle about which the Whigs gathered in 1842, for a time had a unifying influence on the party. The leaders and the press put forward several arguments in favor of a protective tariff. In April, 1842, in a tariff meeting held at Ann Arbor, one resolution adopted declared that a high tariff would create a market for the products of Michigan by building up manufacturing establishments in the United States.[55] In the papers, the argument was advanced that a protective tariff would render us independent of foreign nations by building up home manufactures, that the wages of labor would be increased,[56] and that with the increase of the manufacturing and wage earning classes, the demand for

52. *Laws of Michigan* (1844), pp. 178-179; *Ibid* (1845), pp. 157-158; *Ibid* (1846), pp. 302-303.
53. Detroit *Free Press*, January 27, 1844.
54. Detroit *Advertiser*, December 23, 1845; *Oakland Gazette*, December 31, 1845.
55. *Michigan State Journal*, April 20, 1842.
56. New York *Daily Tribune*, February 17 and April 29, 1842.

farm products would be greater and the prices would rise.[57] The press rejoiced over the passage of the tariff bill in 1842. On this occasion, the *State Journal* made the following optimistic observation:[58] "The passage of the tariff will save the country. The manufactures and industry of the country will again revive. Men begin to look more cheerful, breathe easier and more freely, since the passage of that act."

A portion of the Whigs received a direct benefit from a high tariff. Chief among these were the pine lumber manufacturers in northeastern Michigan, who came into competition with the Canadian lumbermen. Writing to Senator Woodbridge in 1842, Gillet, a Whig who was in the lumbering business in Port Huron appealed for protection. In support of his demand he stated that pine lumber was entered in Canada according to its valuation, but was valued so low that the duties were merely nominal. Mentioning pine shingle bolts in particular, he said that lumber "costs us by the time we get it into market twice as much as theirs is entered at."[59] It has been stated that Clay received a large vote in the Saginaw Valley. This was probably due to the fact that lumbering was becoming a prominent industry in this section.

Some of the wool growers also wanted protection. Many farmers had large flocks of sheep[60] and some of these wanted even higher tariff rates than those afforded by the Act of 1842.[61] The advocates of a

57. *Ibid*, July 31, 1844; *National Intelligencer*, August 27, 1844.
58. *Michigan State Journal*, September 7, 1842.
59. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 133, p. 159.
60. Sheep raising was especially encouraged in western Michigan.
61. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 136, p. 72.

tariff contended that protection would create a home market for the large quantities of wool which were exported.[62]

It has been pointed out that the tariff question caused a break in the Whig party between the commercial class and the farmers and laborers. This occurred shortly after the election of 1844. The farmers and laborers were led to believe that a high tariff would aid them greatly; but after the Act of 1842 had been in operation for two years, they began to feel that it was unjust to them; that the eastern manufacturing establishments were being built up at their expense, therefore they wanted a lower tariff. Thus wrote William Anderson, a prominent farmer in Washtenaw County, who said that he expressed the sentiment of the Whigs on the farms in that county.[63]

The Democrats as a party were opposed to a high tariff. Though a few wealthy men, especially in eastern Michigan, were benefitted by the increase of the duties in 1842,[64] the press and the party leaders voiced the opposition of the farmers and laborers who made up the bulk of the party. All agreed that a tariff which would raise only revenue enough to support the Government would be satisfactory. They

62. *Western Statesman*, August 24, 1843, June 17, 1845; *Michigan State Journal*, February 21, 1844.

63. Wm. Anderson to Wm. Woodbridge on January 20, 1845, *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 136, p. 72.

64. In 1844 five Democrats in the State Senate opposed a resolution instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives to vote for a modification of the tariff. Three of these men represented the district in eastern Michigan, three were interested in lumbering and three were born in New England. *Senate Journal* (1844), p. 396.

objected to duties being levied which protected the eastern capitalists.[65] The editor of the Niles *Republican* stated that he would like to see manufacturing industries flourish in Michigan, but was opposed to granting them exclusive privileges. He said that the tariff bill then before Congress would "give a legal right to the rich to pick the pockets of the poor."[66] The editor of the Grand Rapids *Enquirer* declared that this Act was unjust, unequal and oppressive.[67] A Chicago paper made the following assertion:[68] "All the whigs want is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer—to keep up the bankers and manufacturers and put down the planters, farmers, mechanics and laborers."

The resolutions of the local party conventions objected to the high duties because Michigan was primarily an agricultural State.[69] At a meeting in Detroit on February 23, 1843, the Democrats adopted a resolution declaring that the power to levy duties ought not to be used to extend special privileges, but only to raise a revenue for the support of the Government; that the tariff of 1842, which protected eastern capitalists, operated as an unequal and unjust tax on the agricultural portions of the country.[70]

Two of the foremost leaders of the Democratic party in Michigan objected to the tariff Act of 1842. These

65. Detroit *Free Press*, July 27 and October 24, 1842; *Michigan Argus*, March 22, 1843.
66. Niles *Republican*, May 5, 1842.
67. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, February 8, 1843.
68. Chicago *Weekly Democrat*, April 10, 1844.
69. Detroit *Free Press*, May 29 and July 11, 1843.
70. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1843.

were General Cass and Governor Barry. Both represented the conservative element in the party; but in stating their objections to this Act they were the spokesmen for the farmers and poor people who constituted the greater portion of their constituents. The General believed that the tariff was unequal in its operations and that it benefitted a few at the expense of a large number.[71] In his annual message of January 1, 1844, Governor Barry stated that the manufacturing establishments sustained by a protective tariff were monopolies. He contended that the argument that a protective tariff furnished a home market was unsound, because such a large surplus was sent abroad that the price was determined by what it would bring there. The price of wheat, the great staple of the West, he said, was not increased by the protective tariff, while that of all manufactured articles was raised. In conclusion he said:[72] "The protection to the manufacturer is a protection against low prices, and the excess of price obtained by reason of a protective tariff is a tax upon other classes."

When the Walker Tariff Bill was passed in 1846, the two parties exchanged places in their attitude toward it. The Democratic papers were enthusiastic over this Act because they said it lowered the duties on the necessities of life and at the same time afforded incidental protection to all classes of people and to all industries.[73] On the other hand, the Whigs opposed

71. Smith, *Life and Times of Lewis Cass*, p. 644.
72. *Joint Documents* (1844), No. 1, pp. 9-10.
73. Detroit *Free Press*, September 29, 1846; *Michigan Argus*, March 18, 1846; Kalamazoo *Gazette*, August 28 and November 13, 1846.

this Act, because they believed that it would injure American industries and benefit the English manufacturers.[74]

To summarize: It may be said that most of the people favored the occupation of Oregon. The agitation for the annexation of Texas brought the slavery question into Michigan politics for the first time, an issue which tended to unite the Whig party, though many of the radical Whigs in the interior refused to vote for Clay and threw their support to the abolition candidate. The annexation issue showed that there was a division in the Democratic party between the conservatives and radicals on the slavery question.

The old sectional alignment of parties was breaking down. The Democratic party was becoming relatively weak in the interior counties in southern Michigan. This party retained its strength in the Grand River Valley and was strong in southeastern and southwestern Michigan.

For a time the tariff issue had a unifying influence on the Whig party, but finally caused a break between the commercial class which continued to support a high tariff and the farmers and laborers who felt that it was unjust to them, that they were aiding eastern manufacturers and were receiving no benefit in return. On this question the Democratic party as a whole assumed the viewpoint of the agricultural and laboring class which made up the bulk of the party.

74. Detroit *Advertiser*, April 21, July 31 and August 3, 1846; *National Intelligencer*, August 1, 1846.

CHAPTER IV

Political Controversy Over the Mexican War

THE declaration of war against Mexico did not become an issue in politics because most of the people were loyal to the administration. With the exception of a few extreme radicals, the opponents of the party in power supported the Government in this time of need and urged measures to be taken which would bring about a successful and speedy termination of the war. While the Whigs did not approve of the war, yet after it had been declared they supported the President in its prosecution. The Detroit *Advertiser* said:[1] "This war is none of our making but we shall stand by our country right or wrong to the end." In the State convention of 1847 the party adopted a resolution declaring that the war was the result of an unconstitutional act of the executive and might have been avoided, but that the Whigs were in favor of putting into the hands of the Government the means necessary for its speedy termination.[2]

On the other hand, the Democrats placed the responsibility for the war on Mexico.[3] In the latter part of May, the *Free Press* published a series of articles entitled "The Mexican War, a Justification of the United States."[4] In the State convention of the

1. Detroit *Advertiser*, May 25, 1846.
2. *Oakland Gazette*, September 25, 1847.
3. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, December 9, 1846; Niles *Republican*, June 13, 1846.
4. Detroit *Free Press*, May 27, 28 and 30, 1846.

following year, the party passed a resolution promising to continue its support.[5] General Cass favored a vigorous prosecution of the war.[6]

At least two large war meetings were held in the State. On June 3, 1846, both Whigs and Democrats attended an enthusiastic meeting in Detroit, those present adopting resolutions upholding the course of the Government in its relations with Mexico and asserting that the acts of that country fully justified the declaration of war.[7] In the following year, when the Federal Government called on Michigan for a volunteer regiment, the citizens of Battle Creek held a large meeting for the purpose of aiding the speedy enrollment of this regiment.[8] The *Michigan Tribune* gave the following account of this meeting:[9] "The enthusiasm which pervaded this assemblage could not but be gratifying to the friends of the administration as well as to those who unite with it on that point—that of prosecuting the war with superior energy."

The paramount issue which grew out of the war was whether or not Congress had the power to prohibit slavery in the territory acquired from Mexico. The two great political parties not only took opposing sides on this question and battled fiercely, but the hostile factions in the Democratic party made this issue the occasion for a renewal of the old factional strife. The westerners joined the radicals on this issue and made an attack on the conservatives which

5. *Michigan Argus*, September 25, 1847.
6. Smith, *Life and Times of Lewis Cass*, p. 599.
7. Detroit *Advertiser*, June 5, 1846.
8. *Ibid*, December 3, 1847.
9. Quoted in *Ibid*, December 3, 1847.

almost rent the party asunder. Furthermore a large number of the radical Whigs and Democrats, together with the political abolitionists, organized the Free Soil party in Michigan for the purpose of opposing the extension of slavery into the territory recently acquired.

As soon as the Whigs learned that the United States would acquire territory from Mexico, they demanded that slavery should not be permitted in it. On September 19, 1846, the delegates at the Whig convention in Wayne County declared that they would "wage an endless war against the further extension of Slave Territory."[10] The convention of the first senatorial district adopted similar resolutions.[11] In the following year when the radical faction in the party controlled the action of the State convention, one of the resolutions adopted declared that while the Whigs conceded the right to each State to legislate with regard to its own institutions "we are opposed to the further extension of this institution over the territory of the United States; and we will, by all constitutional means resist the introduction of slavery into any territory now or hereafter to be acquired by the United States by conquest, purchase or otherwise."[12] During the campaign of 1848 the Whig conventions, some of the Taylor clubs and the party press staunchly supported the principles set forth in the Wilmot Proviso.[13]

10. *Ibid*, September 29, 1846.
11. *Ibid*, September 29, 1846.
12. *Ibid*, September 18, 1847.
13. Niles *Republican*, September 16, 1848; Detroit *Advertiser*, January 11 and May 16, 1848; Marshall *Statesman*, February 1, 1848; New York *Weekly Tribune*, February 23, 1848.

The conservative Whigs were equally opposed to the extension of slavery into new territory, but they feared that the agitation of this question would disrupt the party and possibly cause a dissolution of the Union. The radical Whigs controlled the State convention in 1847 and nominated a candidate for Governor unsatisfactory to the conservatives.[14] In the following year however, the latter seized the helm and directed the course of the party through the presidential election campaign. One of them purchased the *Advertiser*[15] which had been under the control of the "Canandaigua Clique," and through its columns, made a herculean attempt to secure a majority of the votes in the State for the Whig candidate. The reply which Woodbridge made to some wavering Whigs indicated the attitude of the conservative wing toward the burning question in politics, —that he was opposed to the extension of slavery, but that the signs of the times must be considered. He pointed out that there was a political and social disturbance in the old world, and that a spirit of restlessness and discord was prevalent in the United States. The lust of conquest, he said, had seized the people:[16] "It is in these circumstances we find ourselves. It is in these circumstances we are called upon to exercise the highest privilege, the most responsible duty, American citizens can be called upon to exercise: that of placing at the helm a man capable of guiding safely our course over the troubled and

14. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 138, p. 130; Detroit *Advertiser*, November 12, 1847.
15. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 138, p. 144.
16. *Ibid*, p. 199.

dangerous Sea which is upon us; a man of clearness of view, of honesty of purpose, and of unwavering energy of character; a man capable of discovering what his duty is, of courage and firmness to perform that duty in all contingencies which await us. Such a man the most of us here think Zachary Taylor to be."

In spite of the great efforts of the conservatives, a large number of Whigs refused to support the Louisiana slaveholder and cast their vote for the Free Soil candidate. Even some of the conservatives left their party.[17] As in 1844, the greater portion of these were the small farmers in the interior counties of central, southern and northeastern Michigan, though a large number were the professional men in the cities and towns. The latter class consisted chiefly of lawyers, physicians, and of clergymen in the Protestant churches.[18] Most of these were members of the radical Whig faction and were the leaders of the masses in the rural districts. During the summer the first Taylor club of Lansing came out for Van Buren[19] and the Jackson *Gazette*, a Whig paper, hauled down Taylor's name and substituted that of the Free Soil candidate.[20] In August reports came from the counties of Washtenaw, Jackson, Oakland, Branch, Lenawee, Monroe and Macomb that a large number of Whigs preferred Van Buren to Taylor.[21] The people in most

17. *Ibid*, p. 212.
18. Austin Blair, a native of western New York and a lawyer in Jackson, and Doctor Caleb Ormsby, a leading physician in Ann Arbor, were examples.
19. Detroit *Free Press*, August 30, 1848.
20. *Ibid*, August 30, 1848.
21. *Ibid*, August 26, 1848; Detroit *Advertiser*, November 18, 1848.

of these counties were primarily interested in agriculture.

These dissatisfied Whigs, the political abolitionists, and some of the radical Democrats organized the Free Soil party in Michigan in 1848. Delegates representing these various elements assembled in a convention in Ann Arbor on September 20. Littlejohn, a western Democrat with radical leanings, was elected president of the convention. In order to form a permanent organization, district electors were nominated and members of a State Central Committee were appointed. Those present adopted resolutions opposing the extension of slavery into territory then free, upholding the principle of the Wilmot Proviso and denouncing the doctrine of popular sovereignty.[22]

The factions in the Democratic party took sides on the question of the Wilmot Proviso. On the one hand, the conservatives maintained that the doctrine of popular sovereignty set forth in the Nicholson letter would settle the question at issue. On the other, the westerners and radicals contended with equal persistency that Congress had complete power over the introduction of slavery into the Territories.

It has been pointed out that in the early forties the conservative faction gained control of the party. This element was most numerous in eastern Michigan, the most thickly settled and wealthiest portion of the State. Many of these Democrats were becoming wealthier each year, and, as quite frequently happens, old age and the accumulation of wealth tended to make them more conservative. From 1841 to 1847

22. *True Democrat*, September 28, 1848.

the State executive's chair was occupied by conservative Democrats,[23] and the members of this faction filled most of the important offices. By 1848 this faction was as strongly intrenched in eastern Michigan as the organization under the leadership of the astute postmaster in Detroit had ever been. In fact, the conservatives ruled the party in Michigan.

The conservative Democrats feared the effect of the agitation of the slavery question both on the party and on the Federal Union. The *Free Press* declared that the discussion in Congress on the Wilmot Proviso was ridiculous and that the sooner it was abandoned the better it would be for the country.[24] Concerning the all-important issue in national politics, General Cass made the following comment in a letter to Governor Felch:[25] "The administration is doing all it can to push on the war, while we are frittering away our time in useless discussions. And we have got a very unnecessary subject, a fire brand thrown among us which threatens most disastrous results to the party. I allude to the Wilmot Proviso, the introduction of which is deprecated by all our discreet friends..... If we should pass that resolution tomorrow it would conclude nothing. The subject would be just as open for congressional legislation as though no such resolution had passed."

The members of the conservative faction accepted immediately the doctrine of popular sovereignty set

23. These men were John S. Barry and Alpheus Felch. Both were New Englanders.
24. Detroit *Free Press*, January 26, 1847.
25. *Felch Papers*, Vol. 831, p. 15.

forth in the Nicholson letter.[26] The editor of the Coldwater *Sentinel* believed that this doctrine would prevent the extension of slavery into new territory.[27] On January 20, 1848, the Democrats of Wayne County, under the leadership of Cass' friends,[28] adopted a resolution advocating his doctrine.[29] According to the *Free Press*, none of the county conventions rejected popular sovereignty, while many passed resolutions supporting it.[30] In the legislative sessions of 1847 and 1848, the opponents of resolutions embodying the principle of the Wilmot Proviso were the faithful supporters of Cass and his doctrine.[31]

The westerners and radicals in the Democratic party, who adhered to the principle laid down in the Wilmot Proviso, formed a coalition against the conservatives. The western faction was now under the leadership of a very capable man, though his fame did not extend beyond the borders of the State. This was Judge Epaphroditus Ransom of Kalamazoo.

26. *National Register*, January 8, 1848. General Cass said in part: "The Wilmot proviso seeks to take from its legitimate tribunal a question of domestic policy, having no relation to the Union, as such and to transfer it to another created by the subject matter involved in this issue.... Leave to the people, who will be affected by this question, to adjust it upon their own responsibility, and in their own manner, and we shall render another tribute to the original principles of our government and furnish another guaranty for its permanence and prosperity."
27. Coldwater *Sentinel*, October 13, 1848.
28. John R. Williams to General Cass on January 22, 1848, *Williams Papers*, Vol. 31, (page not given).
29. Detroit *Free Press*, January 24, 1848.
30. *Ibid*, March 3, 1848.
31. This is dealt with in this chapter.

Although Lucius Lyon was a leader of the west in 1844, the mantle soon fell upon the shoulders of Judge Ransom. He was a native of Massachusetts and had settled in Kalamazoo in 1834 where he became a prominent lawyer. Owning the best farm in this section, he was the true representative of the democracy of the west. During his public career he held the offices of Associate Justice, Chief Justice and Governor.[32]

As early as the fall of 1846 the Kalamazoo *Gazette* stated that Congress had the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories.[33] After the election of 1848 the Niles *Republican* declared that a man who was "*decidedly opposed to the extension of slavery*" should be elected to the office of United States Senator at the coming session of the Legislature, in order to prevent the party from being defeated in the State election the next year.[34] About the same time, the Grand Rapids *Enquirer* maintained that the Free Soil wing of the party should be conciliated by the choice of a Senator who was not opposed to their principles.[35] In 1847 the leader of the western faction was elected Governor of the State, and in his message to the Legislature on January 1, 1849, Governor Ransom expressed the views of his section on the Wilmot Proviso in the following passage:[36]

"If the Congress may rightfully create and establish

32. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), pp. 542-544.
33. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, September 25, 1846.
34. Niles *Republican*, December 23, 1848.
35. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, January 24, 1849.
36. *Joint Documents* (1849), p. 17. The Governor's message precedes Doc. No. 1.

a government in and over a territory clothed with the powers of legislation, appoint over it a retinue of officers executive and judicial, may not the same body, declare, as a 'needful rule and regulation respecting' it, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory?

"But if it be admitted that the power to prohibit slavery in the free territory of the Union is not *expressly* given to Congress, still it may be maintained, and I think successfully, that in relation at least to territory acquired by purchase or conquest, such power must and does reside in Congress..... The right to acquire and hold it must necessarily be accompanied with the power of governing it also. The the power to govern is the inevitable result of the sovereignty and dominion acquired by such purchase or conquest. If Congress have the power to *govern* such territory, it follows as a necessary consequence that they may annex to its occupancy, such conditions and regulations as a majority shall deem expedient."

The radical Democrats were even stauncher advocates of the Wilmot Proviso than the westerners. This issue increased the growing hatred of this element toward slavery and slavery extension, and served to draw a clearer and sharper line between the radical faction and the remainder of the Democratic party. In 1845 Robert McClelland was the spokesman for this portion of his constituency when, as member of Congress, he voted against the annexation of Texas. Both Bingham and McClelland were Representatives in Congress during the time the Wilmot Proviso was

attracting the attention of that body and both men supported this measure.[37]

Though McClelland always remained in the party and Bingham did not leave it until some time after the conservatives read him out in 1850, some of the prominent Democrats, especially in western Michigan, joined the Free Soil party in 1848. Chief among these were Flavius J. Littlejohn, a leading man in the west, and Hovey K. Clarke, a prominent lawyer residing in Marshall.[38] The former returned to the Democratic party in 1851 during the conservative reaction which followed this radical outburst, but the latter remained in the Free Soil organization until 1854 when he aided in the formation of the Republican party. A large number of the constituents of these radical leaders followed them into the Free Soil party. In the summer of 1848, the Whig organ at Detroit stated that the feeling against Cass was becoming stronger in the counties of Genesee, Lapeer, Oakland and Shiawassee, and that the Scotch inhabitants in Oakland County would vote for Van Buren.[39] As these counties were located in Bingham's district, this disaffection was probably due in part to his influence among the farmers.

Immediately after the Legislature assembled in January, 1847, McReynolds, a conservative Democrat from the first district, introduced joint resolutions in the Senate setting forth the justice of the war with

37. *Cong. Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1218; 2nd Sess., p. 425; speeches of Bingham on August 7, 1848 and of McClelland on February 10, 1849. Both speeches are published in pamphlet form.
38. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), p. 177.
39. Detroit *Advertiser*, July 24, 1848.

body it was indefinitely postponed, by a vote of 11 to 7.[52] Both Houses adjourned without any further action on the resolution.

However, the friends of the Wilmot Proviso, like most anti-slavery leaders, were persistent in their efforts and would not submit to defeat. During the session of 1849, in the face of a powerful opposition in both Houses, they succeeded in passing two resolutions in which were incorporated the principles they had at heart. One stated that they were in favor of the "fundamental principles of the ordinance of 1787," and that Congress not only had the power, but that it was the duty of that body to prohibit "the introduction or existence of slavery" in any territory "now or hereafter to be acquired." The other resolution instructed the Senators and requested the Representatives in Congress "to use all honorable means to accomplish the objects expressed in the foregoing resolution."[53] These resolutions passed the Senate by a vote of 15 to 7[54] and the House by 46 to 17.[55]

Linked with the difference of opinion over the Wilmot Proviso and an equally potent cause of factional hostility was the feeling on the part of the people of the west that the domination of the eastern conservatives in party politics had developed into bossism. It has been pointed out that by 1848 the conservative Democrats had built up in eastern Michigan a faction which practically controlled the party. Meanwhile the population of the western counties was increasing

52. *Senate Journal* (1848), p. 550.
53. *Laws of Michigan* (1849), pp. 362-363.
54. *Senate Journal* (1849), p. 25.
55. *House Journal* (1849), p. 56.

rapidly.[56] A large number of these settlers were comparatively young men. The "young Democracy," as these men were usually designated, soon began to demand a voice in the nomination of candidates, and the appointment of some of their number to the important offices.[57] Since the days of Lucius Lyon, no candidate from the west had been elected to the United States Senate, and, moreover, all the Senators had been residents of Detroit. On finding that they were excluded from office in Branch County by the local conservative faction, the young Democrats in that county became restive[58] and in 1848 held a "people's convention," in which candidates for the

56. Lanman, *History of Michigan* (1839), pp. 305-306 for population of 1837; *Compendium of U. S. Census* (1850), pp. 254-255.

57. *Michigan State Journal*, September 10, 1845. While the factions in the Legislature of 1849 were struggling over the election of General Cass to the Senate, the Grand Rapids *Enquirer* on January 17 said: "The last week at Lansing has been 'big with the fate of Caesar and Rome,' more especially Caesar. We have considerable to say about this matter and shall 'speak out in meeting' when it is finally disposed of. *The Democratic party in this State belongs to nobody.* When it indignantly threw off the Mason Dynasty and, satisfied of their corruption went into minority; having all the while a large preponderance of the voting population of the State, it exhibited that hostility to old hunkerism which ever possessed the mass of the people. It is ready to do the same thing again. It will purge itself or voluntarily submit to the drastic operation of a Whig ascendency. The 'rule or ruin' autocrats who denounce as disorganizers all who deny their infallibility or resist their monopolies must submit to the reasonable wishes of their political associates or roll with them in that gulf of defeat and disaster which their own insolence has opened before us all."

58. Coldwater *Sentinel*, October 20 and November 10, 1846.

county offices were nominated and resolutions were adopted denouncing as a corrupt institution the party caucus which, it was said, had dwindled into a system of bargain and sale between the candidates and their friends.[59]

During the forties the factions had been kept from open warfare only by means of careful nominations. For four years Governor Barry kept the Democratic party united. In 1845 one of the conservatives feared a renewal of the factional strife.[60] Harmony was restored[61] however when Alpheus Felch, a native of Maine[62] and a leading lawyer in Ann Arbor, was nominated for Governor.

In 1847 the western Democrats demanded that a man from that section should be elected United States Senator.[63] The press and the politicians in the west united on Judge Ransom.[64] Being certain of Ransom's election, his friends planned for the appointment to vacancies in the offices of collector at the port of Detroit and of judge.[65] In the caucus meeting the conservatives outvoted them;[66] Felch was nominated for Senator and was elected. Though the Judge

59. *Ibid*, September 22 and October 6, 1848.
60. Robert McClelland to Alpheus Felch, *Felch Papers*, Vol. 830, p. 157.
61. David A. Noble to Alpheus Felch, *Ibid*, Vol. 830, p. 163; C. W. Whipple to Alpheus Felch, *Ibid*, Vol. 830, p. 164.
62. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), pp. 261-262.
63. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, December 25, 1846; Coldwater *Sentinel*, December 8, 1846.
64. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, January 13, 1847; Paw Paw *Free Press*, quoted in Niles *Republican*, November 23, 1846; Niles *Republican*, December 26, 1846.
65. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 138, p. 69.
66. *Ibid*, Vol. 137, p. 76.

took his defeat bitterly,[67] the people of the west submitted.[68] In order to soothe the injured feelings of the leader of the west the Democrats nominated him this year as the candidate for Governor on their ticket.[69]

As the time for the Presidential election drew near the Democrats forced their factional quarrel into the background and made a great effort to elect their famous fellow citizen. Governor Ransom[70] and his constituents[71] appeared to be as ardent supporters of General Cass as were the conservatives. Many of the radicals, to whom the General's position on the Wilmot Proviso was of much more vital concern than the outcome of the factional contest, even voted for him. After the election one of them said:[72] "My own position, at the Presidential election was simply this:—that I would vote for the author of the Nicholson letter rather than for a Louisiana slaveholder and for a Democratic nominee rather than for a Whig nominee. Nothing was farther from my thought than to repudiate the Wilmot Proviso, and so I always said when I conversed upon the subject." During the campaign, harmony appeared to reign supreme in the party, so completely did the westerners and radicals conceal their dissatisfaction. The fact that the Democratic candidate was a resident of Michigan aroused considerable local pride and thus kept a large number of radicals

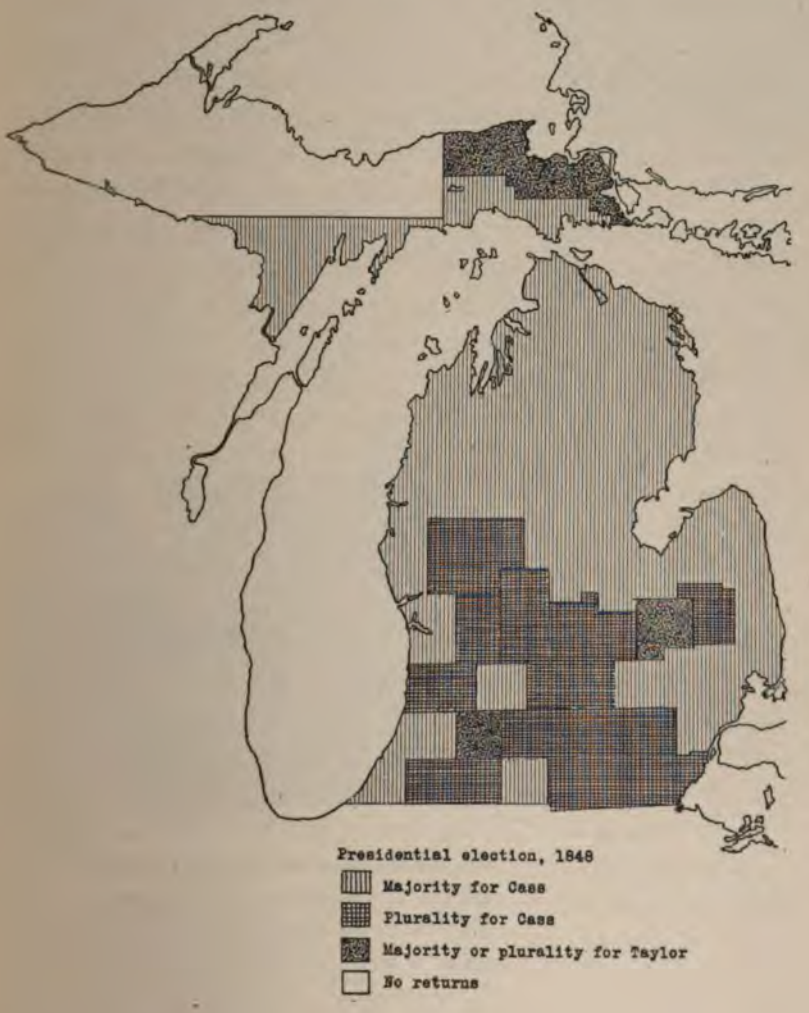
67. *Ibid*, Vol. 138, p. 69.
68. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, February 5, 1847; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, February 10, 1847; Niles *Republican*, February 13, 1847; Coldwater *Sentinel*, February 9, 1847.
69. *Michigan Argus*, September 15, 1847.
70. E. Ransom to A. Felch, *Felch Papers*, Vol. 831, p. 58.
71. The western papers apparently all supported General Cass.
72. Loomis, *Free Thoughts on Michigan Politics* (pamphlet), p. 3.

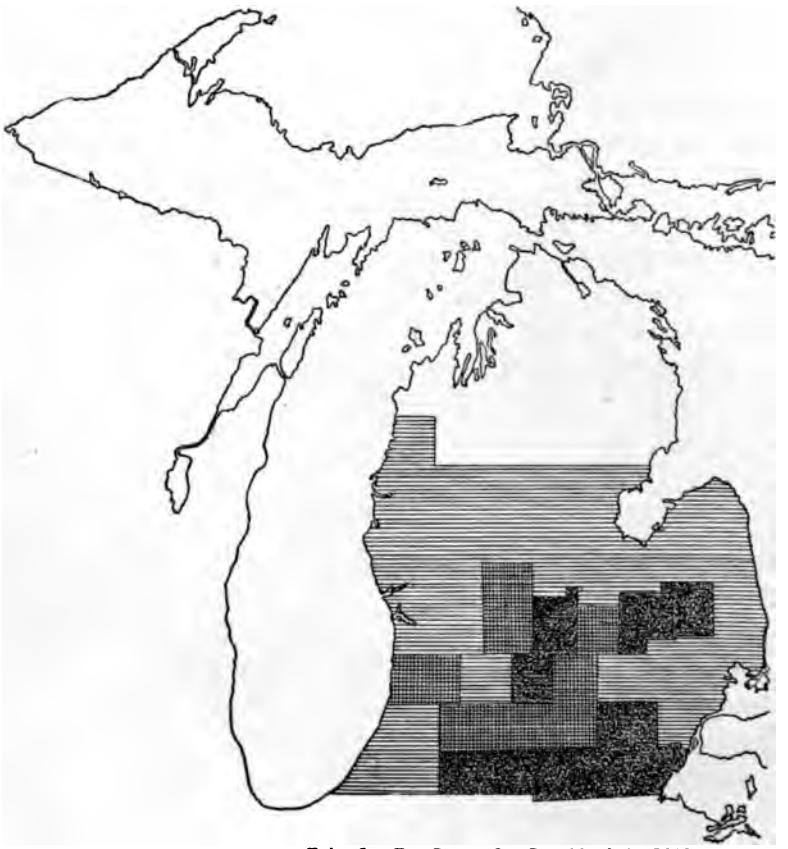
in line and attracted the votes of many who would otherwise have supported Van Buren. The *Free Press* reported every one of the twenty-nine Democratic papers as supporting General Cass.[73] Lieutenant Governor Fenton who had taken the stump for Cass was much encouraged at the prospects of his success and said that he did not find the dissatisfaction which had been reported.[74]

The apparent unity in both the Whig and Democratic parties was broken only by the not infrequent secession of radicals who could not vote for the Louisiana slaveholder or the author of the Nicholson letter without sacrificing some long cherished principle or suffering from a troubled conscience. Reports of these disaffections, which were most numerous in the rural districts in the interior, appeared in the papers from time to time.

In November Cass polled 30,687 votes, Taylor 23,940, and Van Buren 10,389.[75] The Democratic vote was larger than in 1844 by 2,984, the Whig vote 297 less than in that year and that of the third party was 6,757 larger, which seemed to show that the larger percentage of the Van Buren vote came from the Whig party. As has been stated, the agricultural districts in the interior of central and southern Michigan and in the northeast furnished the greater portion of the members of the Free Soil party. The Whigs and Free Soilers combined in the second congressional district and elected their candidate to Congress. The

73. Detroit *Free Press*, June 9, 1848.
74. *Felch Papers*, Vol. 831, p. 77.
75. *Niles National Register*, February 28, 1849.


Presidential election, 1848
Majority for Cass
Plurality for Cass
Majority or plurality for Taylor
No returns


Vote for Van Buren for President in 1848
4 to 14 per cent of total vote
15 to 19 per cent of total vote
20 to 32 per cent of total vote
No returns

Whigs elected four new Senators[76] and sixteen Representatives, while the third party elected one Representative from each of the counties of Ionia, Monroe and Branch.[77]

The warring factions in the Democratic party ceased fighting only during the Presidential campaign. Meanwhile both were preparing for the final battle,—the battle which was to shake the Democracy to its very foundations, but was to decide the contest and for several years was to make a more united party than had existed during most of its history up to that time. A year before this struggle occurred, one of the conservatives boasted of their preparedness:[78] "The 'Old Guard' are unconquered, have not lost a single battle, and have their 'harness on.'" The culminating clash took place in the Legislature of 1849 over the election of a United States Senator to succeed General Cass who had resigned in order to become a Presidential candidate.

Men had hardly done talking about the outcome of the Presidential election when the editors of the western press began to declare in words which rang with unmistakable determination and earnestness, that in the coming Legislature a western man should be elected to the Senate as the successor of General Cass.[79] The Niles *Republican* declared that the people of this section would not submit to the election of an eastern

76. Detroit *Free Press*, November 13 and 27, 1848.
77. *Ibid*, December 4, 1848.
78. Jeff. G. Thurber to Alpheus Felch on April 15, 1848, *Felch Papers*, Vol. 830, p. 76.
79. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, December 27, 1848; Niles *Republican*, December 30, 1848.

man.[80] Any of the prominent leaders in western Michigan, the Grand Rapids *Enquirer* said, would be satisfactory to the people of that section.[81] When the editors of the western papers saw that the members of the conservative faction were determined to reelect General Cass they became even more violent in their language.[82]

Governor Ransom in his message to the Legislature in 1849 declared that Congress had complete power over the introduction of slavery in the Territories. The members from the west, the radicals and the Whigs, all of whom supported the principle set forth in this message, at once formed a coalition against the conservatives. The opposing forces were about equal numerically in both Houses, but the coalitionists wasted their strength by scattering their votes among several candidates.

On January 5 the Democratic members of the Legislature who favored the nomination of General Cass for Senator and those who were opposed to that of Governor Ransom met in a caucus.[83] Probably two-thirds of the sixty-three Democratic members in this body were present at the meeting, but the rest refused to attend.[84] According to the *Free Press*, thirty-seven votes were cast for General Cass.[85]

80. Niles *Republican*, December 30, 1848.
81. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, December 27, 1848.
82. *Ibid*, January 17, 1849.
83. Detroit *Free Press*, January 15, 1849; Loomis, *Free Thoughts* (pamphlet), p. 4; Niles *Republican*, February 3, 1849. The latter gives the statement of the minority dated at Lansing, January 18, 1849.
84. The two accounts differ on the number present.
85. Detroit *Free Press*, January 15, 1849.

Those present adjourned to meet on the following evening and gave notice to the minority to attend. It seems that the latter disregarded this notice; the former met at the designated time and gave General Cass the unanimous vote.[86]

On the 9th the House proceeded to nominate a candidate for United States Senator. On the first ballot General Cass received 34 votes, Edwin Lawrence 15, Governor Ransom 11 and two others one each; whereupon Cass was declared to be the nominee of that House.[87] The thirty-four votes for the General were cast by Democrats; Lawrence received the votes of fourteen Whigs and one Free Soiler; Governor Ransom's supporters with one exception were western Democrats.

The struggle in the Senate, which began on the 9th,[88] lasted for almost two weeks. The members were about equally divided between the opposing sides; the presiding officer was a political ally of the coalitionists. The alignment of factions was illustrated when on the 11th Griswold's motion that the Senate proceed to the election of a Senator was rejected by a vote of 11 to 9.[89] The opponents of this motion consisted of four Whigs, one Whig and Free Soil coalitionist and six Democrats from the counties in the west and north. The supporters on the other hand were Democrats chiefly from the east and southeast. McKinney, a western Democrat, and Summers, a

86. Niles *Republican*, February 3, 1849.
87. *House Journal* (1849), p. 35.
88. *Senate Journal* (1849), p. 34.
89. *Ibid*, p. 46.

conservative from the east, failed to vote at this time. During the next few days, Griswold, in order to bring the question of election to a vote, made motion after motion, but the twelve opponents blocked every move.[90] As an illustration, on January 15 Griswold moved "that the Senate do now proceed to the nomination." Finley of the opposition at once moved to refer this motion to the committee on federal relations, but as this failed to pass, Isbell, a Whig, moved that the nomination should be indefinitely postponed. Isbell's motion was adopted by a vote of 12 to 10.[91]

Finally on the 19th, a portion of the coalitionist faction gave up the struggle and permitted the question of a nomination to come to a vote. The motion that "the Senate *do now* proceed to the nomination of a Senator in Congress" was adopted by 15 to 7.[92] When the roll was called Cass received 11 votes. Hart, a Democrat of the opposition, supported him, while the other eleven votes were scattered among as many candidates.[93] On the second ballot Cass received only five votes, but no one had a majority.[94] On the third ballot Cass' name was dropped and Williams received ten of the twenty-two votes.[95] On the following day when the question came up again, a motion was introduced for an indefinite postponement of the subject. This motion did not prevail however and a vote was again taken on the nomination of a Senator.

90. *Ibid*, pp. 47 ff.
91. *Ibid*, p. 66.
92. *Ibid*, p. 95.
93. *Ibid*, pp. 95-96.
94. *Ibid*, pp. 96-97.
95. *Ibid*, p. 98.

This time Governor Ransom received sixteen of the twenty-two votes,[96] and arrangements were then made to meet the House in joint convention.

On the first ballot in the joint session Cass received the votes of eleven Senators and thirty-three Representatives, Ransom polled six votes from the Senate and eleven from the House, and Williams the votes of four Senators and thirteen Representatives.[97] After a few attempts of the coalitionists to block the proceedings had failed, the resolution declaring that General Cass was the duly elected Senator was adopted by a vote of 14 to 7 in the Senate and 39 to 21 in the House.[98]

Therefore it will be seen that the friends of General Cass were in the majority in the House and that the vote of this body elected him. And strange as it may seem, a portion of these same legislators voted for resolutions which advocated the principles of the Wilmot Proviso and instructed the Senators to secure the adoption of such measures. Perhaps they felt that with these instructions as a safeguard they could vote for the General.

Another bone of contention was the State printing, which had been done by the *Free Press*, the chief organ of the conservatives. In the latter part of December, 1848, the first number of the *Michigan State Journal* published at Lansing appeared. According to the organ at Detroit, the purpose of this paper, which was under the control of the Free Soilers, was to make war

96. *Ibid*, pp. 101-102.
97. *House Journal* (1849), pp. 117-118.
98. *Ibid*, pp. 121-122.

on the *Free Press* and to "disorganize the Democratic party on the slavery question."[99] In the first number, the editor asked that the *Journal* be appointed the State paper and be allowed to do the State printing. The western press upheld the demands of this paper.[100] When a joint resolution to that effect came to a vote in the Legislature, the radical and western Democrats supported the measure while the conservatives opposed it.[101]

The Democratic party came out of this struggle more united than ever before. Each faction saw that the quarrel had gone almost too far. Following the contest in the Legislature therefore a reaction took place which united the conservatives and the westerners. The issues in national politics in the next few years sealed this union. The desire expressed by a prominent Democrat that the party would come out of this crisis "like gold tried in a fire"[102] was in a large degree fulfilled.

The radicals however were not reconciled. They continued to oppose the extension of slave territory and to support the principle of the Wilmot Proviso. The editor of the Grand Rapids *Enquirer*,[103] who was both a westerner and a radical, and some of his con-

99. Detroit *Free Press*, January 1, 1849.
100. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, January 21, 1849.
101. *House Journal* (1849), p. 146; *Senate Journal* (1849), pp. 154-155.
102. *Felch Papers*, Vol. 831, p. 77.
103. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, February 14 and August 8, 1849. This paper promised on September 26 to support the Democratic candidate for Governor.

stituents[104] clung to their free soil principles and were very reluctant to give their support to the candidate for Governor. In the following year the enactment by Congress of the law for the more effective rendition of fugitive slaves made the gulf between this wing and the rest of the party more impassible.

The press and the leaders in all parts of the State tried to heal the schism in the party. With the exception of the Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, the leading western papers urged the warring Democrats to make a peaceable adjustment of their differences,[105] though some of them still maintained that Congress had power over slavery in the Territories.[106] The eastern press made an equally strong appeal to its constituents. On September 8, the editor of the *Free Press* said: "We do not apprehend danger to the continued harmony of the party in Michigan; but we cannot be too careful in guarding against every cause of disagreement. We must discard all differences and then turn our guns upon the common enemy." A conservative who resided in Niles declared that without mutual concession the party would be defeated.[107] A member of this faction residing in Monroe made the following observation:[108] "I fear a wide breach has

104. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, October 3, 1849. The senatorial convention of the Grand River Valley district declared that Congress had the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories.
105. Niles *Republican*, March 17, 1849; extract of article from Marshall *Expounder* in Kalamazoo *Gazette*, February 16, 1849; Coldwater *Sentinel*, September 7, 1849.
106. Niles *Republican*, March 17 and August 11, 1849.
107. *Felch Papers*, Vol. 831, p. 114.
108. David Noble to A. Felch on January 22, *Ibid*, p. 114.

been made in our party, and that it will cost us the State for the next three years.—It will be the fault of the Whigs, and not our own strength if we are not whipped at our next governor's election."

In their local conventions the Democrats also tried to compromise the differences between the factions. In several county conventions they declared that since there was a difference of opinion on the power of Congress to legislate in regard to the domestic affairs in the Territories, they would not make this question a test of party affiliation.[109] The following resolution adopted by the Democrats in Macomb County was a typical example:[110]

"Resolved, That this convention believe there is no difference of opinion among the Democrats of Michigan as to the justice or policy of extending slavery beyond its present limits, but that there is a difference of opinion among our political brethren as to the right and power of Congress to legislate on or over the domestic affairs of states or territories: That we do not consider any opinion upon that subject as a test of democracy or as affording the slightest ground or any reason why the Democracy of Michigan or of the Union should be divided and defeated."

The Democrats wisely nominated as their candidate for Governor John S. Barry, a conservative residing

109. The conventions in the counties of Branch, Genesee, Jackson, Kent, Lapeer, Livingston, Hillsdale, Van Buren, the State convention and the convention of the first senatorial district passed such resolutions. Detroit *Free Press*, September 8, 11, 12, 18, 21 and October 18, 1849; *Michigan Argus*, September 12, 1849.

110. Detroit *Free Press*, September 7, 1849.

in southwestern Michigan, who was very popular with the rank and file of the party. According to a Whig paper the conservatives had a majority of the delegates in the State convention and opposed the nomination of Robert McClelland, a supporter of the Wilmot Proviso, and finally defeated him.[111] The proceedings of the convention, which appeared in the Democratic papers,[112] are so brief that it is impossible to say whether or not this statement is true.

The Whig party was disunited this year. The candidate for Governor declined to run and the party held a second convention at which Flavius J. Littlejohn, the nominee on the Free Soil ticket, was accepted as the Whig candidate. This coalition was probably the work of the radical faction, for the conservatives regarded him as a radical and an agrarian[113] and refused to support him.

In November, Barry received 27,837 votes and Littlejohn 23,540.[114] The Democrats retained seven Senators and elected eight, not one of whom had opposed the election of General Cass. The Whigs had three members and elected two. The Democrats elected forty-five Representatives and the Whigs twenty.[115]

In this chapter it has been pointed out that the Whigs upheld the principle laid down in the Wilmot

111. *National Intelligencer*, October 6, 1849.
112. Detroit *Free Press*, September 21, 1849.
113. *Ibid*, September 29, 1849; Niles *Republican*, October 6 and 20, 1849; Kalamazoo *Gazette*, November 2, 1849; Detroit *Advertiser*, November 9 and 13, 1849.
114. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
115. Detroit *Free Press*, November 17, 1849. Christiancy, a Free Soiler in Monroe County, had no opposition. See *Michigan Historical Collections*, XVII, 261.

Proviso. Many of the radical Whigs, chiefly in the rural districts in the interior, refused to vote for Taylor and joined the Free Soil party. The Free Soil party was composed of the Liberty party men, a portion of the radical Whigs and radical Democrats. Most of these resided in the agricultural districts. The conservative faction in the Democratic party accepted the doctrine of popular sovereignty, while the westerners and radicals adhered to the principle of the Wilmot Proviso. The two latter factions, together with the Whigs, formed a coalition and the struggle which took place almost split the party. Fearing the effect of the breach, the leaders of the conservative and western factions appealed for harmony. This reaction brought about a union of these two factions which was completed by 1851. The radicals were not satisfied and some of the compromise measures in 1850 widened the chasm between them and the bulk of the party.

CHAPTER V

Compromise of 1850

IN the preceding chapter it has been noted that after the struggle over the election of General Cass as United States Senator a reaction took place which drew the conservative and western factions in the Democratic party in Michigan closer together. The movement for southern independence created such a spirit of moderation and desire to adjust the sectional differences by means of compromises that the union of these factions was sealed. In 1850 the conservative leaders in the party, who were ready to acquiesce in all of the measures for the sectional readjustment, seized the helm and directed the course of the party. They made a great effort to arouse sentiments of national patriotism and to check the agitation of the slavery question.

On the other hand, the law for the more effective rendition of fugitive slaves excited the bitter opposition of the radical Democrats, though they supported the other measures of readjustment. Disregarding the rights of the South and overlooking the danger of disunion, they saw only what they considered injustice in this law. This issue served to widen the almost impassable gulf between Bingham's constituents and the main body of the Democratic party. Furthermore it caused the radical faction in the Whig party and the

Free Soilers to become more determined enemies of slavery.

The conservative Democratic leaders made their appeal for concession and harmony chiefly through the action of the party conventions and the Legislature, resolutions at public meetings, speeches and the newspapers.

As early as 1848 the Democratic convention of Wayne County, which was under the control of General Cass's friends, adopted a resolution declaring that on the question of slavery extension which deeply affected other portions of the Union the Democrats should "speak and act with prudence, calmness, kindness and in a disinterested and forbearing spirit."[1] Writing to Senator Felch on September 23 of that year, William Fenton, a moderately conservative Democrat, said:[2] "Perhaps after all the Democracy have to meet a crisis which will test their integrity. If so I trust they may come out 'like gold tried in a fire.' Such for the good of our common country is the result to be desired." In 1850 the western as well as the eastern Democrats urged the adoption of all of the measures for the sectional readjustment.[3] A western

1. Detroit *Free Press*, January 24, 1848; Letter of John R. Williams on January 22, 1848, *Williams Papers*, Vol. 31, (page not given).
2. *Felch Papers*, Vol. 831, p. 77.
3. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, March 1, 1850; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, July 31, 1850; Detroit *Free Press*, March 8 and August 8, 1850. On the latter date, the *Free Press* said: "We hope almost against hope however, that the dictates of reason and the promptings of patriotism will prevail, and that the efforts to restore harmony and to settle the vexed questions that agitate the country will not be abandoned in the heat of the present exasperated feeling."

paper asked the people of the second congressional district to vote for Charles E. Stuart, the Democratic candidate. It represented him to be an "able champion of democracy, a firm supporter of the Constitution and the Union who will stand boldly forth an advocate for the compromises." This paper denounced Williams, the Whig and Free Soil coalition candidate, as an opponent of the compromise bill and as a sectionalist.[4]

In a speech on January 21 and 22, 1850, General Cass declared that he would resign his seat in the Senate before he would vote for the Wilmot Proviso in accordance with the instructions of the Legislature.[5] But he did not have to resign. A call signed by several members of the conservative Democratic faction was issued requesting the members of that party in Detroit to meet on March 20 for the purpose of taking into consideration the instructions to the Senators in Congress.[6] This meeting was addressed by several speakers, after which a preamble and resolutions were

3. Con. Writing to Senator Felch, Thomas Fitzgerald, a conservative, said: "I am committed in judgment and feeling to the principles of a just compromise of the great and distracting question which so seriously threatens the peace and permanency of the Union, and beg to say that I shall extremely regret to have you withhold your aid and influence in the settlement of that dangerous and distracting subject." *Felch Papers*, Vol. 832, p. 31.

4. Niles *Republican*, November 2, 1850.

5. *Appendix of the Congressional Globe*, XXII, Pt. I, p. 74. On February 14, the Grand Rapids *Enquirer* stated that if General Cass resigned, the Democratic press would demand his re-election as it wanted his help in effecting the compromise.

6. Detroit *Free Press*, March 20, 1850.

adopted, declaring in favor of popular sovereignty, calling attention to the excitement produced by the Wilmot Proviso, and stating that General Cass had announced that he would resign his seat in Congress rather than vote for the proviso; and it was resolved that in the opinion of the citizens present the members of the Legislature "now in session, owe it to themselves, to the State and to the Union, by every consideration of patriotism, of liberty and nationality, to rescind the resolution of instruction to our Senators, approved the 13th January, 1849." The members of the Legislature from that county and district were requested to attempt to secure such action by the Legislature. In addition, these resolutions praised very highly the work of General Cass.[7]

The Legislature acted promptly. On March 28 the Upper House passed resolutions rescinding the instructions by a vote of 11 to 11, the president voting in the affirmative.[8] The Lower House adopted the resolutions by 27 to 20,[9] and on April 2 the Governor approved them. Of the eleven nays in the Senate, five were Whigs, four were Democrats and two were Free Soilers. In the House, thirteen of the opponents were Whigs and Free Soilers and seven were Democrats, while the twenty-seven yeas were all Democrats.

In these resolutions the legislators stated that the people of the State were opposed to the extension of slavery, but said they believed that the crisis in the national affairs had arrived which demanded an

7. *Ibid*, March 22, 1850.
8. *Senate Journal* (1850), p. 645.
9. *House Journal* (1850), p. 806.

"expression of their deep, devoted and unalterable attachment to the Union, and their fixed determination, in a spirit of mutual forbearance and moderation, to guard by all means against the dangers at present, in the opinion of many, threatening its integrity." The members of this body believed therefore that the Senators should be left free to act as their judgment might dictate upon all questions affecting the permanency of the Union, and they were of the opinion that the people of the State approved the stand taken in the Senate by the men "who, representing the various sections and different feelings of our common country, have united their efforts to preserve the Union 'one and indivisible.'" The resolutions concluded by requesting the Senators to retain their seats in Congress.[10]

In the last days of October, a group of conservative Democrats held a large Union meeting at Wayne, which was addressed by Senator Cass and by Alexander W. Buel, the Representative in Congress from the first district. The citizens present adopted the resolutions, which had been adopted by a meeting in Chicago, declaring that all laws of Congress should be obeyed and that since the Constitution provided that fugitives from labor escaping from one State into another should be delivered up, the recent law for the more effective rendition of fugitive slaves should be enforced. A

10. *Laws of Michigan* (1850), pp. 463-464. This Legislature also passed resolutions declaring that California should be admitted under the constitution adopted by the people; and instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives "to use all proper means to procure the admission" of that State. *Ibid*, pp. 453-454.

resolution expressing strong attachment to the Union was also passed.[11]

On November 19 a dinner was given in Detroit to Buel in recognition of the support given by him to the compromise measures. He was introduced as one who represented "faithfully the Union sentiment of Michigan." His speech on this occasion showed that he was a strong advocate of the compromise. Believing that the repeal of the fugitive slave rendition law would lead to a disruption of the Union, he denounced those who had made its repeal an issue in the election in November. His broad nationalistic sympathies were expressed in the following passage:[12]

"This sectionalism claims on the one side everything for the North, and on the other everything for the South. Hence it is the natural mother of national feud and discord. Here are our Scylla and Charybdis. If we should avoid them in the future, this spirit of *sectionalism* must be supplanted with that of *nationalism*. We must think more of the *Whole Union*, I do not say, less of its *parts*. We must cultivate a *national*, instead of a *sectional* patriotism; and above all, we must cultivate that spirit of fraternity, *in which the Union had its birth, by which it lives and without which it must die.*"

In June the Constitutional Convention was in session in Lansing, and on the 10th the Democratic members, who were favorable to the compromise measures, held a meeting. Most of the men who drafted the resolutions on this occasion were members

11. Detroit *Free Press*, November 1, 1850.
12. Speech published in pamphlet form, p. 23.

of the conservative faction. In these resolutions they declared that they were opposed to the intervention of Congress in the domestic affairs of the Territories, and they lauded the patriotic efforts of Senator Cass "in behalf of the National Union." They stated that the "general provisions contained in the 'Compromise Bill,' now under consideration in the U. S. Senate ought to receive the sanction of Congress. The bill is conceived in a spirit of harmony—its provisions respect and preserve the rights of the different sections of the Union; and the tendency of its passage will be to allay agitation, secure peace and tranquility, and set at rest the only question which threatens the stability of the Union."[13]

Some of the party conventions also adopted resolutions supporting the compromise measures and praising General Cass for his devotion to the country. In the State convention the members of the committee on resolutions were ardent supporters of the General. This committee reported resolutions congratulating the people of the United States on the passage of Clay's bill and rejoicing at the "adoption of these measures, alike just and equitable to all, by which the country has been restored to harmony, as a triumph of wisdom over sectional strife in our national councils." They also commended Lewis Cass for the services which he had rendered to the Union.[14] Similar resolutions

13. Detroit *Free Press*, June 13, 1850. W. F. Storey of Jackson had a draft of resolutions prepared. These were read and were referred to a committee of seven. General Witherell of Wayne called the meeting to order and then Governor Barry took the chair. Both of these men were conservatives.

14. *Ibid*, September 21, 1850.

were passed by the Democratic conventions of the first congressional district, of the first senatorial district, and of Wayne and Kent counties.[15]

The vote on the compromise bills cast by the members of Congress from Michigan was also indicative of the attitude of the factions. The delegation comprised two Democratic Senators, one Free Soil and Whig coalitionist and two Democratic Representatives. Cass supported Clay's whole program;[16] he and Felch, his colleague in the Senate, voted for all the compromise measures[17] except the rendition bill.[18] In the House, Buel, the conservative Democrat from the first congressional district, voted for all the bills except that for the establishment of a Territorial government for Utah. Illness prevented him from being present when the vote was taken on this measure.[19]

On the other hand Bingham, the leader of the radicals, and Sprague, the coalitionist, opposed the bills for the more effective rendition of fugitive slaves, for the establishment of a Territorial government for Utah and for the restriction of the Texan boundary and the assumption of the Texan debt. These men voted however for the two other measures.[20] The

15. *Ibid*, September 18, October 4, 12 and 25, 1850; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, October 23, 1850.
16. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, p. 276; speech of Cass on June 14, published in pamphlet form, p. 2.
17. *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1504, 1555, 1573, 1830.
18. *Ibid*, pp. 1647, 1659, 1660. This vote was on the order to engross for the third reading. The vote on the passage appears not to be given. See also *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 1630.
19. *Ibid*, p. 1776.
20. *Ibid*, pp. 1764, 1772, 1776, 1807, 1837.

position which Bingham took at this time drew the line more clearly between his constituents and the conservatives. He scoffed at the threat of the Southerners to leave the Union and declared that it was the duty of the Northern people to suppress by force any movement for Southern independence.[21] He attacked the position taken by General Cass in the Nicholson letter. As a result the Democratic press rebuked him[22] and the Democrats of Oakland County in his district read him out of the party.[23] Then Bingham joined the Free Soilers and when the Republican party was organized four years later it elected him Governor.

By 1850 the conservative Whigs saw the impending danger of secession and began to appeal for moderation and concession. The *Michigan Expositor* stated that the Union could be destroyed and that a great many persons in the South were in favor of disunion. Nevertheless this paper hoped that through moderation and concession the Union would be preserved.[24] The *Michigan Telegraph* on September 20 stated in an editorial that if harmony and good feeling resulted from the passage of these measures, it would rejoice. The *Daily Advertiser*, then edited by a radical Whig, rejoiced over the passage of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia;[25] but, together with the other Whig papers,—both radical

21. See Bingham's speech on June 4 on the California bill. Published in pamphlet form.
22. *Michigan Argus*, July 10, 1850; Detroit *Free Press*, June 15, 1850.
23. Detroit *Free Press*, September 16, 1850.
24. *Michigan Expositor*, September 17, 1850.
25. Detroit *Advertiser*, September 23, 1850.

and conservative—it denounced the rendition law.[26]

In the State convention on September 24 the Whigs adopted resolutions declaring that a firm attachment to the Union was the duty of every citizen, and deprecating "whatever tends to impair or disturb that ennobling attachment—an attachment which is the only sure guaranty of our prosperity as a people, and our glory as a nation." In expressing their joy at the late action of Congress they mentioned each of the compromise acts, except the rendition law. They recorded their thanks to those statesmen who had stepped forth and had "hushed the storms and calmed the waves of disunion."[27]

On the other hand, some of the radical Whigs made light of the Southern secession movement. One of them ridiculed the issue presented by the conservative Democrats that the people should acquiesce in the rendition law and re-elect Buel in order to prevent a dissolution of the Union. He stated that he believed the Union would "subsist a few days *after* Mr. Buel has taken his leave of sublunary interests."[28]

As might be expected, the Free Soilers were bitter opponents of the Rendition Act and were very reluctant to accept the finality of the other measures. In the State convention early in June, this party adopted resolutions demanding the organization of

26. *Ibid*, October 28, 1850; *Oakland Gazette*, October 19, 1850; *Washtenaw Whig*, October 23, 1850; Marshall *Statesman*, October 30, 1850; *Michigan Expositor*, October 15, 1850; *Michigan Telegraph*, November 8, 1850; Hillsdale *Standard*, October 15, 1850.
27. *Washtenaw Whig*, October 9, 1850.
28. *Howard and Mandell Letter Book*, No. 21, p. 329.

Territorial governments in accordance with the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, urging the admission of California, condemning the members of the Legislature who had rescinded the instructions to the Senators, and denouncing Clay's compromise bill.[29] As we have stated, the coalitionist Representative in Congress voted against the bills for the rendition of fugitive slaves and for the restriction of the Texan boundary and the assumption of the Texan debt. His vote was probably indicative of the attitude of all the Free Soilers toward these measures, for in the State mass convention two years later, the third party adopted a resolution rejoicing at the frequent escape of slaves from their masters and declaring that it was not only the duty of the slaves to escape but that every man should assist these fugitives on their road to freedom.[30]

The Rendition Act was the paramount issue before the people in 1850. The conservative Democrats and most of the conservative Whigs acquiesced at once in this law. Both Buel and Cass believed that its repeal would cause a dissolution of the Union. The *Free Press* maintained that the rendition law should be enforced regardless of whether it was right or wrong. On October 5 this paper declared that the

29. Marshall *Statesman*, June 12, 1850. This paper gives a summary of the resolutions.

30. Detroit *Advertiser*, September 6, 1852. This resolution was as follows: "*Resolved*, That we rejoice in the frequent escape of slaves from bondage, and that we deem it a duty incumbent upon the slave to escape when he can and for every man to assist such escape when he can safely do it, and ever to aid and comfort them on their way to freedom."

integrity of the Union depended upon "the fidelity with which the general government fulfills the compact between the States, from which the government itself sprang into existence."

On the contrary, the passage of this Act caused the Free Soilers and the radical element in both the Democratic and Whig parties to become the more determined opponents of slavery. Though the Whigs as a party acquiesced in the finality of this law in 1851, the Free Soilers never submitted.

On October 11 a group of Free Soilers and radical Whigs called a meeting in Detroit for the purpose of remonstrating against this law. Those present adopted resolutions disapproving of the law because it broke down all the safeguards previously thrown around the private rights of the Negro and because it denied to the fugitive the right of trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, and the right to summon witnesses. These resolutions also declared that while the law was in force they felt it their duty to see that all the claims made upon Negro residents of Michigan "be sustained and supported by the most undoubted and unobjectionable evidence before a surrender of the fugitive is made." Though they would submit, they asserted that they would devote their "whole energies to procure its repeal or substantial amendment."[31] On the 21st a meeting for the same purpose was held at Olivet. The citizens at this meeting gave a pledge to their "panting fugitive brethren" that they would be neither the "advocates nor executors" of this "unrighteous statute" and declared that they would

31. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 14, 1850.

give these fugitives "both food and shelter, and such protection as the claims of humanity demand." They asserted that any official who would enforce this law had "too little soul to appreciate the blessings of freedom" and was undeserving of their confidence and respect.[32]

Shortly after the passage of the Rendition Act it was reported that large numbers of Negroes were crossing over to Canada, while many others were arming themselves for resistance.[33] In order to understand why these Negroes fled to Canada and why the radical element was so opposed to this law, we must trace briefly the events connected with the attempts to return fugitive slaves from Michigan to the Southern States.

In 1846 it was estimated that about a hundred runaway slaves had settled near the Quaker settlements in Calvin and Penn townships in Cass County.[34] During the winter of 1846-47, an association of planters in Bourbon County, Kentucky, was formed for the purpose of returning runaway slaves.[35] In August, 1847, a party of Kentuckians arrived in Cass County at night and came to a halt in the woods near the south line of Calvin Township.[36] Leaving their wagons there, they proceeded in small parties and seized several

32. Marshall *Statesman*, October 30, 1850.
33. *Michigan Christian Herald*, October 10, 1850.
34. Rogers, *History of Cass County*, p. 133.
35. *Ibid*, pp. 133-134.
36. *Ibid*, p. 136. See also proceedings of the trial in United States Circuit Court, Detroit *Advertiser*, December 20, 1850.

Negroes as fugitive slaves.[37] The alarm spread like wild-fire throughout the neighborhood and the people came in from every side.[38] After some parleying with the crowd, the Kentuckians agreed to go to Cassopolis and submit their proofs to the justice. Followed by a jeering crowd which increased on the way, the Southerners went to this city and placed the captured Negroes in a hotel. A crowd composed of about 350 whites and half a hundred blacks, some of whom were armed with canes and clubs, soon surrounded the hotel for the purpose, it seemed, of preventing the Kentuckians from taking away the Negroes who were under arrest.[39] When the Southerners arrived in Cassopolis they instituted preliminary steps to prove ownership and recover property, and applied for a writ of restitution before the Justice of the Peace.[40] One of the slave catchers was then arrested upon the charge of assault and battery, four of them were taken for trespassing on private property, and all but one were arrested upon the charge of kidnapping. Their bail was fixed at $2,600.[41] A writ of habeas corpus was sworn out by McIlvain, the Circuit Court Commissioner of Berrien County. As the Southerners offered in evidence no certified copy of the statutes of Kentucky showing the legal existence of slavery in

37. Rogers, *History of Cass County*, pp. 136-137; Detroit *Advertiser*, December 20, 1850.
38. Rogers, *History of Cass County*, p. 138; Detroit *Advertiser*, December 23, 1850.
39. Testimonies of witnesses, Detroit *Advertiser*, December 20, 21 and 23, 1850.
40. Rogers, *History of Cass County*, p. 139.
41. *Ibid*, p. 140.

that State, and very little proof of ownership, Commissioner McIlvain discharged the Negroes.[42] As soon as this decision was made, the Negroes in question were gathered together and hurried to Canada. Then the criminal proceedings against the Kentuckians were dropped. In the following year, the Southerners brought suit in the United States Circuit Court at Detroit against D. T. Nicholson and other residents of Cass County. The defendants were charged with an improper interference in the attempt made by the plaintiffs to capture and carry away the fugitive slaves, and suit was brought for the purpose of recovering the value of the same.[43] In the first trial the jury disagreed and several adjournments followed. Finally in 1851 Nicholson compromised with the attorney for the plaintiffs by paying him $2,755.[44]

In 1847 an attempt was made to recover a family of runaway slaves which had settled at Marshall in Calhoun County. About four years before this, one Adam Crosswhite, a mulatto, and his family had escaped from their master, Frank Giltner of Carrol County, Kentucky, and through the aid of the underground railroad agents, had reached Marshall where they settled.[45] In December, 1846, Francis Troutman, the grandson of Giltner, arrived in Marshall and found the fugitives there. After locating the Negroes, he

42. Detroit *Advertiser*, December 20, 21 and 23, 1850; E. S. Smith to James F. Joy, *Joy Papers*, Vol. 511, p. 105.
43. Detroit *Advertiser*, December 20, 1850.
44. Rogers, *History of Cass County*, p. 141.
45. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 252. Article by John C. Patterson entitled: "Marshall Men and Marshall Measures in State and National History."

left town and probably went back to Kentucky. He returned to Marshall on January 26, where he was met by three other Kentuckians. They procured the services of Harvey Dickson, the deputy sheriff of Calhoun County, and early on the morning of the 27th the five men set out toward Crosswhite's home.[46] As they approached the house they saw Adam and his son, Johnson, leave it; the father went in one direction and the son in another. Troutman sent two of his men after Adam and the other two after Johnson. Both Negroes on being requested returned to the house without offering any resistance.[47] Troutman then prepared to take the blacks before a justice to prove that they were Giltner's property.

The news that the Kentuckians were about to seize the Crosswhite family spread throughout the village, and apparently all the inhabitants—white and Black—immediately rushed to the scene of the trouble.[48] Some of the Negroes were armed with clubs and knives and made threats against the Southerners.[49] One of

46. Testimony of Troutman, McLean, *Reports*, IV, 404-405.
47. Testimony of same, *Ibid*, p. 405; Testimony of Dickson, Manuscript of testimonies, *Wilkins Papers*, Vol. 394, pp. 160 ff.
48. Marshall *Statesman*, February 1, 1847. After narrating the events up to the time the Kentuckians broke the fastener on the door of Crosswhite's house, this paper said: "By this time our citizens had assembled in great numbers at the house. Indeed, it was one of those universal turnouts—the whole village was in alarm. The news spread like wild-fire, and not an individual, of whatever age or sex, seemed indifferent to the result. It was the loud and deep and almost unanimous cry, 'The family shall never go back into slavery.'"
49. Testimonies of Troutman and Dickson, McLean, *Reports*, IV, 405-407, 410-411.

them tried twice to enter Crosswhite's house where Adam and his family were temporarily kept and each time Troutman who was guarding the door refused to admit the Negro. After he had told the Negro the second time to stand back, Troutman drew a pistol on him.[50] Meanwhile several of the white citizens remonstrated with the slave catchers and declared that the Crosswhite family should not be taken from the village.[51] While the Kentuckians were parleying with the crowd,[52] Troutman obtained the names of Charles T. Gorham, Jarvis Hurd, O. C. Comstock, Jr. and others.[53] A warrant was issued and served upon the Southerners for trespassing on private property and on Troutman for drawing the pistol. On the first charge, they were fined $100 and on the second, the court sustained the complaint of assault with intent to kill and ordered the defendant to appear at the next session.[54] Meanwhile Crosswhite and his family had been placed aboard a Michigan Central train and sent to Canada.[55]

Troutman returned to Kentucky. Public indignation meetings were held and the matter was laid before

50. *Ibid*, pp. 406, 410; *Wilkins Papers*, Vol. 394, pp. 160 ff.
51. McLean, *Reports*, IV, 406, 407, 414-415, 416; *Wilkins Papers*, Vol. 394, pp. 160 ff. When Charles T. Gorham was asked his name, he replied: "My name is Charles T. Gorham. Put it down in large capital letters and bear it back to the land of slavery, that they may take warning."
52. McLean, *Reports*, IV, 407-409, 411-412, 415.
53. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 253-254.
54. McLean, *Reports*, IV, 409-410; Marshall *Statesman*, February 1, 1847.
55. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 247.

the State Legislature.[56] This body passed resolutions requesting the Legislature of Michigan to take action for the purpose of enabling the people of Kentucky to reclaim their fugitive slaves. The Kentucky Senators and Representatives in Congress were requested to urge Congress to pass a more stringent law for the rendition of fugitive slaves and impose the severest penalty for the violation of this law.[57]

In the latter part of the year, 1847, Giltner brought suit in the United States Circuit Court against Gorham and his friends. In the first trial the jury disagreed. In 1848 the second trial began and after a hard struggle the defendants were required to pay about $1,900 and costs.[58]

This case undoubtedly had a great influence on public sentiment in Michigan and made many determined opponents of slavery. As a result, the anti-slavery men of Calhoun County united and by 1850 they sent a solid delegation from that county to the Legislature.[59] Five years later Erastus Hussey of Battle Creek formulated and introduced into the Legislature the personal liberty law.[60]

Scarcely had the law of 1850 been put in force when the officers arrested a fugitive slave in Detroit. Two Southerners appeared in that city and on October 7 procured the arrest of Giles Rose, a Negro employed on Governor Woodbridge's farm, on the charge that

56. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 248.
57. *Ibid*, p. 249. A copy of the resolutions is given.
58. *Ibid*, p. 255; McLean, *Reports*, IV, 426.
59. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 265, 270, 273, 277.
60. *Senate Journal* (1855), pp. 173-174.

he was a fugitive slave from Tennessee.[61] Knox, the United States Marshal, made the arrest and was sustained by the city authorities. The Negroes and many of the white citizens were indignant and created much disturbance.[62] When the arrest was made, a military escort was considered necessary under the circumstances.[63] The Southerners were followed by a large crowd, mainly of Negroes, from the court house to the hotel, and had it not been for the cooler heads in the crowd these men would have been severely dealt with.[64] The examination took place before the United States Commissioner and the case was adjourned for a few days to give the prisoner time to meet the accusations of the complainant.[65]

Each of these cases produced a vehement outburst of feeling. The earlier arrests had been made under the law of 1793 and had met with determined resistance from the people of the community. The arrest of Rose was made under the law of 1850, just a month before the election of Representatives in Congress. Angered at the seizure of Rose, the people of Detroit met on October 11 for the purpose of remonstrating against the Rendition Act. On the 14th, the *Advertiser* said: "A very deep excitement pervades this community in reference to the fugitive slave bill. Its terms and provisions meet with general reprobation by a majority of our citizens, independent of all party

61. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 8, 1850.
62. *Ibid*, October 9, 1850; *Michigan Christian Herald*, October 10, 1850.
63. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 9, 1850.
64. *Ibid*, October 9, 1850.
65. *Ibid*, October 9, 1850.

distinctions, and the utmost surprise is felt that any man could have been found arrogant enough to give his support to the measure, while *pretending* to represent the feelings and wishes of citizens of Michigan."

The repeal of the law for the more effective rendition of fugitive slaves was the chief issue of the congressional campaign this year. The radical Whigs made light of the Southern secession movement and were bitterly opposed to the Rendition Act, while the conservative wing feared a dissolution of the Union and most of them acquiesced in all the compromise measures. Taking advantage of the vehement outburst of feeling against this Act, the radicals brushed aside all opposition from the conservatives and formed a coalition with the Free Soilers for the election of Congressmen in each of the three districts. On October 18 Penniman, the coalition candidate for Congress in the first district, declared that he was in favor of the "speedy repeal"[66] of the law. The candidates on this ticket in the other two districts took the same stand,[67] and there is no doubt that the position taken by them won many votes.[68] Eager to win in the election, the Free Soilers printed and distributed hundreds of copies of the

66. Speech of A. W. Buel in Detroit on November 19, 1850, pamphlet, p. 21. On November 5 the *Michigan Expositor*, a Whig paper, told the people that if they voted for Buel they sanctioned "that cruel, unjust, and infamous law for which he voted—called the 'Fugitive Slave Law.'"

67. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 14, 1850; *Oakland Gazette*, October 19, 1850; *Washtenaw Whig*, October 23, 1850; Detroit *Free Press*, October 28, 1850; Niles *Republican*, November 2, 1850.

68. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 29, 1850; *Michigan Telegraph*, November 8, 1850.

Rendition Bill with the vote on its passage.[69] They believed that this was the best vote winner which could be used, and were determined to test the question whether or not the North would submit to this law.[70] A few days before the election, it was reported that many Democrats in the first district would not vote for Buel because he had supported this measure.[71]

The conservative Whigs in the first district supported Buel[72], which meant that they acquiesced in all the compromise measures. During the campaign Cass took the stump and electioneered for Buel.[73] The Democrats emphasized the danger of a dissolution of the Union if all the compromise measures were not enforced. A leading Free Soiler reported that in Monroe County the conservative Democrats nominated the most influential men in the third party for office on the Democratic ticket so that they would not oppose Buel.[74]

In the November election the coalition candidates in the first and third districts were elected with majorities of 1,832 and 196 respectively.[75] The Democrats elected sixteen members to the State Senate and the Whigs and Free Soilers six, while in the House the

69. W. W. Murphy and W. T. Howell to E. J. Penniman, *Emmons and Van Dyke Papers*, Vol. 214, p. 126.
70. Same to same, *Ibid*, Vol. 214, p. 126.
71. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 29, 1850.
72. New York *Evening Post*, November 15, 1850.
73. The Coldwater *Sentinel* on October 18, 1850, declared that General Cass had "neither voted for" the rendition law, "nor was he in favor of its passage."
74. I. P. Christiancy to James F. Joy, *Joy Papers*, Vol. 511, p. 167.
75. Detroit *Advertiser*, December 19, 1850.

Vote for candidates for members of Congress in 1850

Majority for the Whig - Free Soil coalitionist candidate

Majority for the Democratic candidate

former elected thirty-nine and the latter twenty-seven.[76]

The election returns showed that the Democratic candidates received a majority in the Grand River and Saginaw valleys and in the counties in the southwest and southeast. On the other hand, the coalitionists carried the counties in the northeast and in the southern interior. In the counties where the commercial interests were strong[77] and the foreign element large there was a tendency therefore for the people to acquiesce in all the measures for the sectional readjustment, while in the districts in which agriculture was the leading occupation a majority of the voters refused to submit to the rendition law. Incidentally the counties in southern Michigan which gave a majority to the coalition candidates were located on the routes of the underground railroad.

While the Legislature was in session in 1851 several petitions were presented to the House proposing instructions for the Senators in Congress to work for the repeal of the rendition law.[78] These petitions were referred to the committee on federal relations. Fearing the revival of the sectional controversy, this committee

76. Detroit *Free Press*, November 11 and 20, 1850.
77. The city of Detroit gave a large majority to the Democratic candidate. His vote was especially large in the wards where the wealthy citizens and the aliens resided. See Detroit *Advertiser*, November 9, 1850. The New York *Evening Post*, on October 12, 1850, stated that outside of the cities the masses were opposed to slavery extension. On November 5, this paper declared that the commercial element was being led around by the "nose" in the matter of the Union ticket and that the men who had supported Cass in 1848 would vote this ticket.
78. *House Journal* (1851), pp. 113, 385, 399.

reported adversely to the request of the petitioners. The report said: "The cry of dissolution was heard from one end of the Union to the other. The American people watched this agitation with deep anxiety, and not being able to foresee its consequences, finally, in an almost united voice, commanded their servants to compromise, that the concord and harmony might again be restored and the Union be preserved for all high and noble purposes for which our fathers formed it. The compromise was finally effected; the five wounds that had so long baffled the skill of the wisest and most eminent physicians of the nation were finally healed. There was a general rejoicing throughout the length and breadth of the land; all seemed to speak out, 'the Union is now safe.'" It concluded with a deprecation of further sectional animosities.[79] This report was adopted in the House by a vote of 42 to 22.[80] Only two Whigs voted in its favor and only one Democrat, Darling of Lenawee County, voted against it.

By 1851 the conservative and western factions in the Democratic party were permanently united. The leaders were impressed with the duty which rested upon the party to save the Union,[81] and a great many felt that a split in the party between the North and South would be followed by the Union's dissolution.[82]

79. *House and Senate Documents* (1851), House Document, No. 16.
80. *House Journal* (1851), p. 592.
81. Niles *Republican*, December 28, 1850.
82. *Ibid*, July 12, 1851. On this date, the *Republican* placed at the top of one of the columns an emblem in the form of clasped hands and on them an eagle with a streamer across its front bearing the following inscription: "United

In his annual message on February 5 Governor Barry, after denying the right of secession, declared that no individual or State might interfere to prevent the execution of the laws of the Union or of any State, and he further asserted that neither a State nor the National Government might interfere with the domestic policy of any State.[83] In the State convention the Democratic party adopted a resolution expressing the need of concession and forbearance in order to bring about a spirit of national unity and harmonious action.[84] The Democrats in the western part of the State no longer demanded, as in 1849, that a Senator should be chosen from that section; but instead they urged the re-election of General Cass, whom they lauded as the "veteran patriot" who had done his share in helping to save the Union.[85]

82. *Con.* we stand, Divided we fall." By way of comment, the paper said: "We conceive our new cut peculiarly well adapted to the times. At no time since the foundation of our glorious Union has the spirit of fanaticism taken such deep root and extended so wide as at the present. Many parents throughout the Union are training their children to hate and despise the union of the States, and the future looks anything but cheering. The breech between the North and the South deny it who may, is opening wider and wider, and the spirit of disunion does not prevail alone in South Carolina. . . .

"Everything depends upon the union of the Democracy. They hold in their hands the destiny of the Republic; and among them no dissension should ever exist. Every personal feeling should be sacrificed, personal piques obliterated, and strike like Spartans of old for their country." This emblem was kept by this paper until the opening of the Civil War.

83. *Joint Documents* (1851), pp. 26-27. This precedes Doc. No. 1.

84. Detroit *Free Press*, September 25, 1851.

85. This feeling was reflected in the western papers.

On the first day of the session of the Legislature the Senate and House nominated Lewis Cass for Senator. The vote in the Senate stood: sixteen Democrats for Cass, five Whigs and Free Soilers for Joseph R. Williams and one for Kinsley Bingham;[86] and in the House thirty-eight Democrats and one Whig for Cass, twenty-three Whigs and Free Soilers for Williams, and one for Ransom.[87] On the same day, the two houses met in joint session and Cass was elected without opposition.[88]

By 1851 there was a reaction in the Whig party. The conservative wing had again secured control of the party, and resolutions were adopted at the State convention acquiescing in all the compromise measures. One of the resolutions declared: "That in the opinion of this convention, the union of these States under the constitution adopted by our fathers constitutes the strongest bulwark of human freedom, and the surest guaranty of national prosperity ever enjoyed by any people, and that we look with abhorrence upon every effort from whatever quarter they may come, and upon whatever pretense founded, to weaken the attachment of the American people to this glorious Union or overthrow that proud fabric of constitutional liberty founded by the wisdom and patriotism of our ancestors." Though the Whigs conceded that each State had absolute control over its own institutions and though they regarded it as the duty of every citizen to abide by the provisions of the Constitution

86. *Senate Journal* (1851), p. 4.
87. *House Journal* (1851), p. 9.
88. *Ibid*, p. 10.

and all the laws enacted by Congress, they said that they were opposed to the extension of slavery into territory then free. While they believed that every citizen had a right to enquire into the merit of all laws, yet they said that it was the duty of the people to support all provisions of the Constitution and the laws which were constitutional.[89] The Whigs nominated as candidate for Governor, Townsend E. Gidley, a Jackson County farmer who was a member of the conservative faction.

In the State convention the conservative Democrats made concessions which not only won for the time being the support of the radical faction but also of the Free Soilers. The party nominated for Governor Robert McClelland who had supported the Wilmot Proviso. General Cass gave McClelland his support.[90] The Free Soil party was on the verge of disruption this year. After considerable hesitation the leaders of the party decided to put no ticket in the field, and supported the Democratic candidate.[91] The following year, the third party was revived and was usually called the Free Democratic party during the rest of its existence. In the election, 1851, McClelland received 23,827 votes and Gidley 16,901.[92]

It is very probable that the children in the schools

89. Pontiac *Gazette*, September 13, 1851.
90. Detroit *Advertiser*, October 6, 1851. Extract from the Jonesville *Telegraph*, a Free Soil paper, which supported McClelland; see also *Advertiser*, October 8, 1851.
91. *Washtenaw Whig*, October 22, 1851; *Michigan Expositor*, November 18, 1851; see also letter of Hovey K. Clarke, July 3, 1879, in Supplement to the Detroit *Daily Post and Tribune*, July 6, 1879.
92. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.

were taught the danger of the abolition agitation and of the dissolution of the Union. In 1853 a new edition of Emma Willard's *History of the United States* was published, which brought it down to July 1851.[93] The State Superintendent of Public Instruction had strongly urged the use of the previous edition of this text in the schools of Michigan and it was used at least in the Detroit schools.[94] It is probable that the revised edition was also used.[95] In the new edition seventeen pages were devoted to a discussion of the compromise measures. The following passage is worthy of note:[96]

"Meanwhile those agitators at the North who made the production of southern ill-feeling a regular uninterrupted business, were doing all in their power to persuade every slave within their reach to desert his master; and they made such facilities for the secret conveyance of fugitive Negroes to the British provinces of Canada, that their 'underground railroad' was a phrase in common use. But of all the offences against the peace of the South, the most flagrant was the publication of newspapers and tracts at the North and the sending of them to circulate at the South, by whose means the slave was counselled to put to death if necessary in order to assert his freedom, him who was

93. Emma Willard, *History of the United States*, New York, 1853, pp. 450-467.
94. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1848, *Joint Documents* (1848), Document No. 6, p. 159; Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education of Detroit, *Joint Documents* (1850), Doc. No. 6, p. 107.
95. There was no uniform text book system. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction recommended a list of books from which the school authorities might choose.
96. Page 452.

perhaps his hereditary master who had cared for his infancy, and who was bound to support his old age; and to change his home into a scene of incendiary rapine and murder."

In regard to the effect of the agitation the author said:[97] "The South was fixed in a deadly determination to dissolve the Union unless northern agitators should cease to bring danger to their firesides; and full assurance be given them that they were not to be made the victims of northern conscientiousness."[98] Continuing her discussion of this point the writer made the following statements: "The remains of the great agitation appeared at the North by opposition to the fugitive slave law; and at the South by a convention of delegates from the anti-union party, held April 1851, in Charleston, S. C.; where, notwithstanding the wiser counsels of Senator Butler and others, the majority resolved to encourage separate secession. We hope that this convention does not truly represent the masses of the people; or that a redeeming spirit will rally, and this noble state be saved from such destructive rashness."

Concerning the treatment of the slaves in the South this book said:[99] "Already we hear more and more of the efforts at the South to improve them as intellectual, moral, and religious beings..... Indeed, in a great part of the South, such is the degree of independence which the blacks are allowed, in the holding of property and the disposition of their own

97. *Ibid*, pp. 460-461.
98. *Ibid*, p. 466.
99. *Ibid*, pp. 466-467.

time, that they are, as they should be, called servants rather than slaves."

In 1853 a revised edition of Willson's *Juvenile American History for Primary Schools* appeared in print. The previous edition had been suggested for use in the schools and probably was used.[100] It is also very probable that this edition was used in some of the schools in the State. Its closing page describes the Nation's greatness; but, to carry this greatness to the fullest extent, it declared that the people must "cultivate a spirit of harmony and mutual concession in our national councils, and frown upon everything that tends to break in pieces the noble fabric of our national Union."[101]

In summary: It may be said that the movement for Southern independence produced a great reaction among the people of Michigan against the agitation of the slavery question and aroused a spirit of moderation and concession. The conservative and western factions in the Democratic party acquiesced at once in all the measures for the sectional readjustment. The reaction completed the union of these factions which was begun in 1849.

On the other hand, the Free Soilers and the radical factions in the Democratic and Whig parties refused in 1850 to accept the finality of the law for the more effective rendition of fugitive slaves. This issue drew a more distinct line between the radical Democrats and the remainder of the party. In 1850 most of the

100. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Joint Documents* (1848), Document No. 6, p. 159.
101. See page 160.

conservative Whigs acquiesced in all the compromise measures. In the following year, the radical Whigs were also ready to accept all these measures. On the contrary, the Free Soilers denounced Clay's bill in 1850, and as late as 1852 they refused to submit to the Rendition Law.

CHAPTER VI

Tendency of the Free Soil and Whig Parties to Unite, 1848-1852

THE Republican party was not made over night. It was born of a long and painful process of evolution and was the inevitable result of the reign of factions in the old-line parties. The factional struggles in these parties have been emphasized in the preceding chapters. It has been pointed out that the unceasing warfare between the conservative and radical Whigs played a large part in keeping the Whigs out of office. Likewise the radical Democrats could not accept the views of the conservative wing in that party on the slavery question. Each time this issue came up in federal politics the breach between the two factions became wider. This condition could not go on indefinitely. If the radicals were unable to put their cardinal principles into effect by remaining in the old parties, they were ready to leave these parties and form new alliances. The constant and ever increasing agitation of the slavery question tended to bring the radical elements in politics closer together each year. Therefore, only an issue of sufficient importance involving the slavery question was needed to bring about a permanent union of these radicals.

This union could have been accomplished in one of three ways. The radical Whigs and Democrats might have joined the Free Soilers; the Free Soilers might

have united with the Whigs; or, the thing which did happen, the formation of a new third party was possible. The first of the three was not seriously considered in 1854. There was an odium attached to the third party under whatever name it existed. It symbolized radicalism of the worst type. Though the radicals in the old parties held Free Soil principles, very few wished to be called Free Soilers or Free Democrats, just as today many people advocate socialistic principles but would resent being called Socialists. After all there is a good deal in the name of a political party. The second plan also had serious drawbacks. Many third party men would probably have been willing to unite with the Whig party if they were thereby insured of the success of their cardinal principle. The Free Soilers ostensibly placed principle above party. There were however in this party many former Democrats who would have revolted at the idea of joining the Whig party and a good many former radical Whigs would have disliked being held in check by the conservative element. In fact many radicals had undoubtedly left the Whig party to escape the domination of the conservative faction. Could the Free Democrats have gained their end in politics in the Whig party? With the aid of the Whigs they might have gotten control of the State government and sent a radical delegation to Congress, but the fact that each party had always nominated its own candidate for President leads one to believe that it would have been almost impossible to select a national ticket which would have received the support of the third party and of the Whigs in all sections.

The Free Democrats and the radical Whigs constituted two important elements in the Republican party. Coalitions between these two groups began in 1848 and the new party was in a large measure the culmination of the series of unions.

There were at least three reasons for these coalitions. The most obvious reason was the fact that the two groups had a principle in common, namely, opposition to the extension of slave territory. Most of the members of both groups regarded the success of this principle of more importance than the preservation of their respective party organizations. Since there were many former radical Whigs in the third party these coalitions were quite easily effected. Though both factions in the Whig party were opposed to the extension of slave territory, the conservative Whigs feared in 1848 that the anti-slavery agitation would cause the dissolution of the Union. As a result of the reaction in 1850, this element secured control of the party in the following year and acquiesced in the compromise measures. Thus in proportion as the agitation increased and the dissolution of the Union became more probable this faction grew more conservative. The easiest way therefore that the radical Whigs could elect to office aggressive advocates of their cardinal principle was to coalesce with the Free Soilers.

Secondly, a thorough-going application of the principle of equality appealed to the Free Soilers and the radical Whigs alike and formed a principle about which the members of both groups gathered. The Liberty party men in the early forties used the Declara-

tion of Independence as the source of their conception of equality,[1] and the Free Soilers at a later date drew inspiration from the same document.[2] The Republicans said in 1856 that the putting of their party's principles into effect would be the realization of the doctrines set forth in that famous declaration. The Free Soilers and Free Democrats settled all important questions by means of mass conventions,[3] thus making a practical application of the principle of equality. The numerous mass conventions in the early history of the Republican party is proof that this principle was quite generally held by the radical elements in politics.

The adoption of equality as a basic principle in their political philosophy was in part the natural reaction of the radical Whigs against the ultra-conservative tendencies of the opposing faction in the same party on the one hand, and of all radicals against the domination of powerful leaders and the decayed condition of the caucus system in the Democratic party on the other. In the eyes of these radicals, the Democratic party was democratic only in name and the Whig party was not much better. There was good foundation for this charge, especially in the Democratic party. The struggle between the factions in the Whig party for supremacy and the attempts of the radicals to cast

1. Resolutions in Detroit *Advertiser*, October 14, 1842; Liberty party platform of August, 1843, in Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections* (1884), pp. 151-154.
2. *True Democrat*, September 28, 1848; Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, September 6, 1852.
3. Hovey K. Clarke to editor of Detroit *Post and Tribune* on July 3, 1879, Supplement to Detroit *Daily Post and Tribune*, July 6, 1879.

aside the conservatives have been mentioned. The Democratic party caucus had fallen so completely into the hands of a few old and conservative men in the forties that the young Democrats in some sections revolted against it.[4] The fact that the mass of the Democrats in the early statehood period were ready to support strong leaders who would represent their interests against the aristocratic element, permitted a few men with attractive personalities and skill in politics to get control of the party. General Cass was the greatest of these leaders in Michigan. In the forties and fifties Cass and the conservative faction practically controlled the party. The General was hated by his political opponents[5] and they would probably form any sort of a coalition to defeat him and his supporters. It is safe to say that the statement of a former radical Whig in 1854 that the anti-slavery elements had united "for the purpose of break-

4. See discussion in the fourth chapter.

5. In a letter dated April 27, 1843, a radical Whig wrote as follows: "Cass is engaged in looking after his property and debts, and his merciless rapacity is making him odious. He is a perfect Shylock, and is stripping his debtors who bought of him in 1835 of their last cent. Our friend Porter is his debtor and unless he can compromise with him, is undone. Your humble servant is not caught in that trap. I had much rather be indebted to *Satan*.—I have been handling him in the newspapers in reference to his great and mighty *doctrine* upon which he proposes to ride into the presidency—a post for which God never favored him. Ah! that north *cheapest* capital ever employed, with which to purchase the presidency. In fact it amounts to nothing. $b+c-x+a-b+e=0$. And so it will be with his claims to the presidency." J. M. Howard to Hon. H. Hall of Benington, Vermont. *Howard Letter Book*, No. 210, p. 139.

ing down locofocoism"[6] expressed the views of a large portion of the Republicans.

A third and comparatively unimportant reason for the coalitions of the Whigs and Free Soilers was the desire for office on the part of a number of leaders in these parties. The majority were men of sincere convictions who urged this united effort solely for the purpose of electing candidates who would carry out the moral and political principles which they advocated. Many of the former Liberty party men had become tired of waging a losing campaign, and, if they relied entirely on their own strength, a hopeless campaign. But there were men in both political groups who had entered politics merely for the spoils. Among these were some of the young men who, in the opinion of the conservative Whigs, had been disturbers in the party throughout the first decade of the statehood period.[7] They urged the union of the Whigs and Free Soilers because they had an office in view. Quite a number of them joined the Republican party for the same purpose and after they had met with disappointment they deserted the party.[8]

From 1848 to 1852 the radical Whigs and the Free Soilers formed coalitions on several occasions. The reader will have to bear in mind that these unions usually had no connection with each other and were often local and temporary coalitions. They are discussed in this chapter for the purpose of showing that the Whig party was split into two warring factions; that the bitter feeling which had existed between

6. *Howard and Mandell Letter Book*, No. 49, p. 371.
7. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 138, pp. 130, 135.
8. This is dealt with in the 11th chapter.

the Whigs and the members of the Liberty party had moderated and in fact had practically disappeared since the organization of the Free Soil party; and that the radical Whigs were much closer to the Free Soilers than they were to the conservative wing of their own party. These coalitions also indicated the trend of public opinion and showed that as soon as an issue of sufficient national importance should come before the people a permanent union of these two political groups would be formed. One generalization should be made. In 1848 while the conservative Whigs were dominant in the party the coalitions were local in character, but in the two following years the radicals obtained control and the unions were statewide in extent. There was a conservative reaction in 1851, and from that time until 1854 the Whig and Free Democratic parties did not coalesce, except in 1852.

In 1848 the Whigs and Free Soilers united in several places in Michigan, which showed that there was dissension within the Whig party and that the barrier between the Whigs and the third party was breaking down. In the fall of 1848 the conservative Whigs in Niles Township in Berrien County presented to the county convention a candidate for the office of Representative in the State Legislature. Because of the hostility of the people in the smaller towns toward Niles, the radical Whig delegates from these towns rejected his name in the convention and nominated one of their own leaders.[9]

The Whigs and Free Soilers in the second congressional district united upon a candidate for Congress.

9. Niles *Republican*, October 21, 1848.

The former party nominated William Sprague, a minister and elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church who resided in Kalamazoo. He owed his nomination to the radical Whigs[10] and worked in the interests of that faction after his election.[11] The Free Soil party placed in nomination Dewitt C. Lawrence of Grand Rapids. On October 24 he withdrew in favor of Sprague because he felt that the Free Soilers could not elect their candidate if they acted alone but that if the two parties united they could elect a man who would carry out the Free Soil principles.[12]

In the first congressional district, a somewhat different development occurred in 1848. On September 20 the Free Soil convention was held at Ann Arbor and the delegates placed at the head of their ticket the name of Doctor Caleb Ormsby, an anti-Taylor man and a leading physician in Ann Arbor.[13] The Free Soilers understood that the Whigs would accept him as their candidate.[14] On the following day the Whigs held their convention at Clinton; but much to the disappointment of the Free Soilers, a majority refused to ratify the nomination of the Ann Arbor physician and nominated instead George C. Bates, a resident of Detroit and a member of the radical Whig faction.[15]

The two parties also formed coalitions on several local tickets. The Free Soil paper in Ann Arbor

10. *Ibid*, October 6, 1849; *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 138, p. 226.
11. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 139, p. 104.
12. Marshall *Statesman*, November 7, 1848.
13. Detroit *Free Press*, September 26, 1848.
14. *Ibid*, September 21, 1848; *Michigan Argus*, September 27, 1848.
15. *Michigan Argus*, September 27, 1848.

favored a union with the Whigs on the congressional and county tickets and was ready to overlook the *Advertiser's* opinion of Van Buren if the editor of that paper would reciprocate the favor with reference to Taylor.[16] On October 4 the Whigs of the second senatorial district nominated a Whig and a Free Soiler for the purpose of bringing about a union of the two parties.[17] This coalition was probably effected; at least both men were elected. In Wayne County, the conventions of the two parties were held on the same day and they united upon the candidates for State Representatives and the county offices.[18] Similar coalitions were formed in Calhoun[19] and Washtenaw counties.[20]

The fusion candidate for Congress was elected. With the aid of the Free Soilers, the Whigs elected two members to the State Senate from the second district and one each from the third and fifth districts. Though sixteen of the Representatives were designated in the Democratic paper[21] as Whigs and three as Free Soilers, it is probable that several of them were elected on coalition tickets.

As has been stated, the radical Whigs were in control of the party in 1849 and 1850 and as a result, unions, statewide in extent, were effected. Early in 1849 a radical Whig took charge of the Detroit *Advertiser*. This year the two groups coalesced on the State ticket.

16. *True Democrat*, September 21, 1848.
17. *Ibid*, September 21, 1848.
18. Detroit *Free Press*, October 9 and 11, 1848.
19. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 18, 1848.
20. *True Democrat*, October 12, 1848.
21. Detroit *Free Press*, November 27 and December 4, 1848.

The Whig State convention met at Jackson on June 20 and the Free Soilers assembled at that place on the same day. The Whigs appointed a committee which was to confer with a Free Soil committee upon a plan of union.[22] As the Free Soilers wanted the Whigs to repudiate the Taylor administration and the latter refused to do it, the two parties were unable to coalesce.[23] Each party then made separate nominations. The Whigs placed John Owen, a conservative, at the head of their ticket, while the Free Soilers nominated Flavius J. Littlejohn, a former western Democrat with radical leanings, for Governor.

Owen, the Whig candidate, declined the nomination and on September 21 the Whig party held another convention. After a heated contest between the factions, the radicals succeeded in nominating Littlejohn on the Whig ticket. Three leading Whigs, Kellogg of Allegan County, Hawkins of Washtenaw and Butler of Macomb declared openly in the convention that they would vote for Barry, a conservative whom the Democrats had nominated for Governor.[24] According to the *Free Press* of October 11, about one-half of the delegates bolted the convention when Littlejohn was nominated. The Whigs of Allegan County issued an address to the Whigs of Michigan in which they repudiated Littlejohn and declared that they would vote for Barry. This address was signed by a long list of conservative Whigs headed by the name of John R. Kellogg. The objections to the

22. Detroit *Advertiser*, June 22, 1849.
23. Detroit *Free Press*, October 20, 1849.
24. *Ibid*, September 29, 1849.

fusion candidate stated in this address were: First, he had denounced Taylor as a slaveholder; and secondly, they disliked his position on the tariff and the subtreasury.[25] The real objection to Littlejohn was not mentioned. He was too radical for this group of ultra-conservatives.[26] The Oakland *Gazette* was disappointed because the Whigs nominated Littlejohn.[27] According to the Niles *Republican* and the Kalamazoo *Gazette*, the Whigs of western Michigan were strongly opposed to the fusion candidate.[28] In an editorial the former paper made the following comment:[29]

"The Spragueites in the vicinity of the post office, and the fuglemen who nominated him have got an immense work to do to convince the people that they have made a Whig out of Littlejohn by buckling a negro on his back."

In November 27,837 votes were cast for the Democratic candidate and 23,540 for Littlejohn.[30] The Democrats elected seven new Senators and had seven old ones. The Whigs retained three old members and elected two new ones, while the Free Soilers had one Senator, and together with the Whigs and Democrats this party elected a member from Monroe County.[31] According to the list in the *Free Press*, the Whigs

25. *Ibid*, October 27, 1849.
26. *Ibid*, September 29, 1849.
27. Quoted in Niles *Republican*, October 6, 1849.
28. *Ibid*, October 20, 1849; Kalamazoo *Gazette*, November 2, 1849.
29. Niles *Republican*, October 6, 1849.
30. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
31. Detroit *Free Press*, November 17, 1849; ***Michigan Historical Collections***, XVII, 261.

elected twenty members to the House and the Democrats forty-five.[32]

It will be recalled that the Whigs and Free Soilers in 1850 denounced the law for the more effective rendition of fugitive slaves and demanded its repeal. Upon this issue the radical Whigs formed a coalition with the Free Soil party on the candidate for Congress in each of the three districts. The conservative Whigs in the first district refused to vote for the fusion candidate and supported Buel, the candidate for re-election on the Democratic ticket.[33] The coalition candidates were elected in the first and third districts with majorities of 1,832 and 196 respectively.[34]

By 1851 a complete reaction had taken place in the Whig party in Michigan. The conservative element was again in control of the party and nominated Townsend E. Gidley, one of their leaders, as candidate for Governor. Since the party under the direction of the conservatives acquiesced in all the measures for the sectional readjustment,[35] it was for the time being separated from the Free Soilers who refused to submit to the Rendition Law.[36] The Whig papers lacked enthusiasm in the campaign and seemed to feel that any effort on their part would be useless because,

32. Detroit *Free Press*, November 17, 1849.
33. New York *Evening Post*, November 15, 1850.
34. Niles *Republican*, December 21, 1850. The Democrats elected sixteen members to the State Senate and the Whigs and Free Soilers six. The former elected thirty-nine members to the House and the latter twenty-seven. Detroit *Free Press*, November 11, 1850.
35. Pontiac *Gazette*, September 13, 1851.
36. See Detroit *Advertiser*, September 6, 1852, for the resolution adopted at the Free Soil State convention in 1852.

without the aid of the Free Soilers, defeat awaited the party in November.

In order to obtain the support of the radical element, the Democrats nominated for Governor Robert McClelland, an opponent of slavery extension. Recognizing McClelland as an advocate of their principles, the Free Soilers after considerable hesitation decided not to put a candidate in the field against him.[37] In November McClelland polled 23,827 votes and Gidley 16,901.[38]

The Free Soil party, having maintained its organization in 1850 mainly through the earnest efforts of one of the leaders,[39] practically disbanded the following year. In 1852 however the anti-slavery men revived the third party. In pursuance of a call issued on August 15 by order of the State Central Committee,[40] the Free Democrats met in a mass convention at Ann Arbor on September 1 and appointed the members of the State Central Committee, adopted a platform ratifying the nomination of Hale and Julian and accepting the national platform, and provided for the holding of a mass convention at Kalamazoo September 29 for the purpose of nominating candidates for presidential electors and State offices.[41]

By 1852 the issues which gave rise to the Free Soil

37. Letter of Hovey K. Clarke in Supplement to Detroit *Daily Post and Tribune*, July 6, 1879; see also *Washtenaw Whig*, October 22, 1851; *Michigan Expositor*, November 18, 1851.
38. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
39. H. K. Clarke to G. F. Porter, *Joy Papers*, Vols. 510, pp. 89 and 149; 511, p. 82.
40. Typewritten copy in State Librarian's office, Lansing.
41. Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, September 6, 1852.

party and led to coalitions with the Whigs had been settled. Nevertheless, the Free Democrats in the second congressional district supported the Whig candidate for Congress because he was an advocate of their principles.[42] The Free Democratic candidate for Governor urged his friends in the first congressional district to nominate Jacob M. Howard, a Whig, if he could be relied upon. His chief reason for urging this coalition was stated in the following portion of a letter to a friend in Detroit:[43]

"The Free Soilers alone cannot elect a man in your district. But by uniting upon Howard (if he repudiates the pro-slavery features of the Whig platform and, if he can be relied upon), you could do just as much toward carrying our principles into practical effect as if he were elected by the Free Soilers alone. And in such contingencies I should in my own case think it a conscientious obligation to avail myself of the only chance of doing any thing for my principles. But, of course, if Howard is not reliable there is no other consistent course than to support a third man."

In the campaign of 1852, the directors of the Michigan Southern Railroad probably exerted their influence against the Free Democratic candidates on the State ticket. In 1846 this road had been sold to a group of conservative Democrats[44] and conservative Whigs, who would undoubtedly oppose the election of radicals to office. Writing to Holmes, a prominent Free

42. I. P. Christiancy to G. F. Porter, *Joy Papers*, Vol. 517, p. 212.
43. Same to same, *Ibid*, Vol. 517, p. 212.
44. *Laws of Michigan* (1846), p. 170.

Democrat in Detroit, Bingham stated that all along the southern road where he was campaigning he was told that the members of this corporation were "interfering and exerting their influence against us." He requested the editor to see Emmons, a Free Democrat, who was the attorney for this road and "get him to head it."[45] This incident indicated that the conservative Whigs were opposed to the election of the radical leaders to important offices. In 1854 the conservative element again opposed the election of the radicals, who were then members of the Republican party.

In November Pierce received 41,842 votes; Scott, 33,860; and Hale, 7,237. McClelland, the Democratic candidate for Governor, polled 42,798 votes; Chandler, the Whig, 34,660; and Christiancy, the Free Democrat, 5,850.[46] According to the list in the *Washtenaw Whig*, the Democrats elected twenty-four State Senators and the Whigs seven; no returns were received from the twenty-eighth district. In the House, the former elected forty-six members and the latter twenty; six districts had not yet reported the results.[47] Apparently the Free Soil party did not elect any members.

After the election of 1852 the Whig party was very weak during the remainder of its existence. The editors of the Whig press put on a bold front, nevertheless, and maintained that the party was as strong as it had ever been. In 1854 when the movement for

45. *Emmons and Van Dyke Papers*, Vol. 214, p. 232.
46. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422; (1917), p. 736.
47. *Washtenaw Whig*, December 1, 1852.

the union of the anti-slavery forces was inaugurated, the majority of the party papers, the radical Whig politicians and their constituents were the foremost advocates of this coalition. On the other hand, the editor of the Detroit *Advertiser* and a large group of monied men and conservatives in the Whig party refused to join the radical element and finally formed the Know-Nothing party.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the strength of Free Democracy in Michigan between 1852 and 1854 since there was no State election. On January 13, 1853, the Free Democratic State Convention was held at Jackson and was attended by only a small number of persons. Resolutions were adopted stating that both of the old-line parties were on the eve of dissolution, declaring that the Free Soilers intended to preserve their organization and denouncing a coalition with either of the other parties.[48] In the following year this party held its State convention in February and placed a ticket in the field. In regard to the gloomy outlook which confronted the Free Democrats in 1854, Hovey K. Clarke, a prominent leader at this time, gave the following account at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Republican party:[49]

"But by the winter of 1853-4 it seemed as though there was no immediate prospect of the success of the anti-slavery principle, and no immediate occasion to assert it. It was in view of this fact that the Free Soilers of Michigan in that year called their convention

48. Detroit *Advertiser*, January 15, 1853.
49. Hovey K. Clarke to editor of Detroit *Post and Tribune*, Supplement to Detroit *Daily Post and Tribune*, July 6, 1879.

early in February, so that they might put a ticket in the field, put forth their annual declaration of principles and 'go through the motions' of voting at the fall elections."

Therefore, the Republican party was in a sense the product of six years of coalitions between the radical Whigs and the Free Soilers. These two political groups united mainly because they were advocates of the same cardinal principle, viz., opposition to the extension of slave territory. The major portion of both groups regarded the allegiance to a particular political party as of much less importance than the putting into force of this cardinal principle, and both believed in the same broad application of the principle of equality. They wanted to unite for the purpose of defeating the Democratic party where slavery extension and protection received its political support. Many of the leaders were sincere and honest men, who desired this united action in order to carry out their principles. With them it was a matter of conscience. But there were henchmen of this Whig-Free Soil coalition who looked forward only to the possibility of securing offices in case the coalitionists were victorious. Though they professed elevated and unselfish political principles concerning human rights, yet they saw "nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belongs the spoils of the enemy."

CHAPTER VII

Foreign Element in Michigan Politics

IN the ante-bellum period a fair portion of the immigrants from Europe settled in Michigan. Prior to the Civil War about one-sixth of the people in the State were born in countries outside of the United States.[1] Aside from a few Scotch settlers[2] and the descendents of the old French families[3] the majority of the aliens who resided in Michigan at the opening of the statehood period came from Germany,[4] Ireland,[5] England[6] and Canada.[7] During the next two decades

1. According to the census of 1850, Michigan had a total native population of 341,591 and a foreign population of 54,852. Of the foreigners, 10,747 were born in England and Wales; 2,488 in Scotland; 13,430 in Ireland; 14,008 in British America; 10,260 in Germany; and 2,542 in Holland. *Compendium of U. S. Census* (1850), pp. 116-118.
2. A colony of Scotch settled in Macomb County in the early thirties. *History of Macomb County* (1882), p. 743.
3. Prior to 1815, not over five hundred French farms were located in southeastern Michigan, and this number did not increase. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 548-549.
4. The Germans began to come to Detroit in 1832. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, p. 336. In 1845 settlements were made in St. Clair and Saginaw counties. Fox, *History of the Saginaw Valley* (1868), p. 72; *History of Saginaw County* (1881), p. 225.
5. The Irish came to Detroit as early as 1833. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, p. 336.
6. It is difficult to state when the English began coming.
7. A large number of Canadians came in 1838. Detroit *Free Press*, February 20, 1838.

an increasing number of people emigrated from these countries[8] and in addition many Hollanders settled in the State.[9]

Practically all the naturalized citizens residing in the State in 1835, and the majority of those who came during the next twenty-five years, voted the Democratic ticket. There were some important reasons for this. In the first place most of the German and Irish immigrants were poor people[10] and were members of the Roman Catholic Church.[11] They had been small farmers, artisans and laborers in their native land, but seeing no possibility of rising from their lowly state under the existing social régime and having suffered from the bad economic conditions at home, large numbers emigrated to America which to them spelled opportunity and success. Here they settled in the cities or on farms, and in some cases became prosperous citizens.[12] Having been the chief sufferers from the political and social inequalities in the old world, most of these aliens upon reaching Michigan eagerly lined up behind the standards of the party which was striving to destroy the power of the aristocratic class and to democratize American politics.

8. In the fifties, 149,093 foreigners settled in the State. Of these, 28,527 came from Germany; 28,246 from England, Scotland and Wales; 16,619 from Ireland; 22,474 from Canada; and 3,793 from Holland. *Census of 1860* (Population), p. 248.
9. Hollanders settled in Ottawa County in 1847. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVIII, 208.
10. Martineau, *Society in America*, I, 313; *Michigan Argus*, November 20, 1844.
11. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 136, pp. 156, 167.
12. Martineau, *Society in America*, II, 96-97.

Furthermore, since the great majority of the Germans and Irish who came in the early days were untutored in books and unfamiliar with American customs and with our system of government, the well-to-do Whigs looked upon them as a boorish and illiterate class of people which was not yet capable of handling the ballot. William Woodbridge regarded them as a reckless and ignorant element which was free from any local attachment and was easily controlled by Democratic politicians.[13] In July, 1835, the editor of the Whig organ at Detroit made the following statement which expressed the attitude of the major portion of the party:[14] "The sentiment is daily and hourly becoming more general, that the institutions and liberties of American citizens are in danger from foreign influence."

Moreover the absence of an educated class left the foreigners without leaders who might have directed them into the anti-slavery organizations and the Liberty party. None of the German revolutionists of the thirties, such as those who constituted the "Latin farmer" element in Illinois and Missouri,[15] ever settled in Michigan. Very few idealists like those who adopted as the watchwords of their homes "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," and no great leaders like Carl Schurz, the revolutionist of a later date who saw the America of his dreams become a reality only when he reached the prairies of Wisconsin where democracy was in full bloom,[16] were present in Michigan to direct

13. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 130, p. 186.
14. Detroit *Journal and Courier*, July 15, 1835.
15. *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, II, 39-41.
16. *Ibid*, pp. 48, 49.

their constituents into the paths which the abolitionists were rapidly wearing. Not until the collapse of the revolution of 1848 caused a large number of German political refugees to emigrate to America were there any active opponents of slavery in the State who had come from foreign countries.[17] Since the interests of these early comers lay primarily in improving their economic and social welfare, they supported the political party whose principles approximated their ideas on these questions. And when the great leaders of that party in the Northwest proclaimed the doctrine of popular sovereignty in order to remove the slavery question out of politics, these naturalized citizens became ardent supporters of the new principle which they believed would prevent the extension of slavery.[18]

The Whigs suspected that the Democratic politicians kept the aliens under their control by corrupt means. The editor of the Whig paper at Detroit declared in 1835 that the foreigners and Catholics were the "chosen instruments of the demagogues to strengthen and perpetuate their ruinous influence over the people of this country."[19] In the same year a conservative Whig made the following gloomy and pessimistic observation in a letter to Woodbridge:[20] "Mistaken I have been if the profligate Irish, the mercenary

17. Detroit *Free Press*, April 17, 1860; Marshall *Statesman*, May 2, 1860.
18. This was true of the German and Irish residents of Detroit, and some of the Germans of the Saginaw Valley.
19. Detroit *Journal and Courier*, August 19, 1835.
20. H. P. Powers to Wm. Woodbridge, *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 129, p. 194.

border Dutch and German, the mindless Canadian, the hired Britains and other numerous foreigners may all be put into the hands of heartless politicians as so much material and strength to be used at will, and yet without danger to the property of the individual or the quietude of the State." More than a decade after this letter was written, Woodbridge declared that throughout these years the Democratic politicians had secured the support of the Irish and other foreigners by corrupt practices.[21]

Perhaps a small supply of money or a barrel or two of whiskey or rum judiciously distributed on the eve of election among the alien voters residing in the cities occasionally served as an extra inducement for them to support the candidates on the Democratic ticket. But it seems more probable that the nativistic tendencies of the Whigs and the fact that the Democrats were socially in the same class with the naturalized citizens and stood for principles which fitted the ideas of the latter, played a far more important role in determining the party predilections of the foreigners. At any rate, the aliens regarded the Democrats as their friends.[22] While the Whigs were alienating the foreigners, the Democratic politicians were befriending them not only by words but also by deeds.

In January, 1835, the Territorial Council, which was composed almost entirely of Democrats, passed a bill enabling the people to form a State Constitution and Government. This act permitted all free white male

21. *Ibid*, Vol. 139, p. 69.
22. *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, II, 65-66; Frank, *Pionierjahre der Familien Frank-Kerler*, pp. 407-409.

inhabitants over twenty-one years of age who resided in the territory on the day set for the election to vote for the delegates to the Constitutional Convention.[23]

At the meeting of the Democratic Territorial Convention this year, an address was issued in which a kind feeling toward the foreigners and faith in their ability to participate in our government was expressed. Thereupon the aliens of Washtenaw County sent a communication to the convention declaring that they approved the sentiments expressed in this address which "evinced such liberal demonstrations of regard for the rights and privileges of the foreigners."[24]

In April when the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention was held, the foreign element strongly supported the candidates on the Democratic ticket.

When the Territorial Council permitted the aliens to vote for the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, the Whig press severely denounced the act;[25] and when this element actually voted for the candidates on the Democratic ticket, the Whig organ at Detroit burst forth in violent condemnation of the aliens and Catholics and dwelt at length on the dangers to the country from this class of citizens.[26]

It has been pointed out in another chapter that in the Constitutional Convention the members of the office-

23. Detroit *Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, January 7, 1835. A copy of the act is printed.
24. *Proceedings of the Democratic Territorial Convention.* Printed in pamphlet form.
25. Detroit *Journal and Courier*, January 21 and February 11, 1835.
26. *Ibid*, July 15 and August 19, 1835.

holding faction in the Democratic party tried to secure the adoption of a clause permitting white male persons twenty-one years of age who had resided in the State six months and in the United States two years and had declared their intention of becoming citizens, to vote at all elections. This measure the Whigs and the conservative Democrats strenuously opposed, and then finally secured the passage of an amendment which required citizenship.

Just a word at this point about the attitude of the naturalized citizens in the early days toward the anti-slavery agitation. The *Spirit of '76*, a Detroit paper edited by a political refugee from Canada, doubtless expressed the sentiment of the majority of the aliens toward the abolition agitation when it stated that since slavery had preceded the Constitution of the United States it would be wiser "to wait for coming events however remote, than to stir up in our land such angry feelings—destroy the peace of our citizens, and go far to dismember the Union."[27] In April, 1842, the Irish citizens of Wayne County met to consider an address issued by abolitionists of Ireland asking their fellow countrymen in the United States to take measures against slavery. Those present adopted resolutions stating that although they regarded the slavery system as an evil, they could not see wherein it was contrary to the law of God. They felt that "the parting injunction of the father of his country was never more applicable to any question, than it is to the all absorbing and cardinal question of slavery.

27. *Spirit of '76*, December 21, 1839. The editor was E. A. Theller.

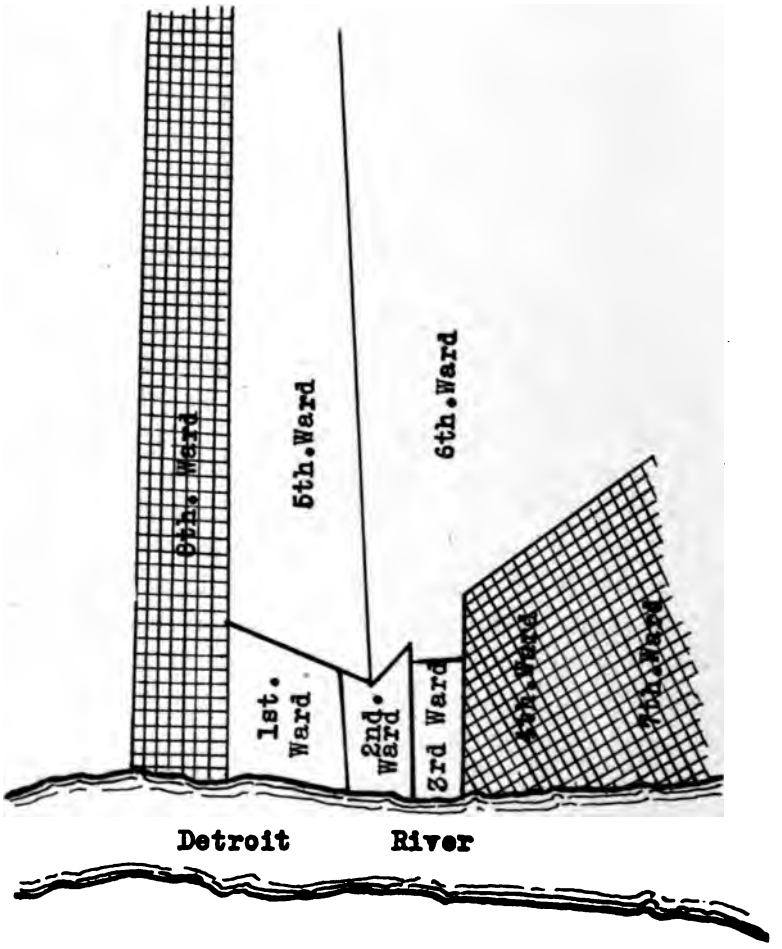
For our part, we are determined to treasure it up in our hearts and souls as we would the solemn injunction of an expiring saint. We will not listen to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. We will spurn all 'foreign influence' that would seek to array one class, section or interest of the community against another. We will hand down whole and unimpaired to those second selves who are so soon to take our places on the busy stage of life, the institutions we received from those who went before us, and which we have taken a solemn oath to defend."[28] The opposition of these leading naturalized citizens to the abolition movement chalked the line over which very few of their constituents ever stepped during the ante-bellum period. When the agitation grew more violent and the anti-slavery forces united into a new political party, the majority of the aliens continued to remain faithful to the party of their first choice.

The party predilections of the German and Irish citizens who had come to Michigan in the early days was illustrated by the vote of this element in Detroit. In ante-bellum times, about one-half of the population of the city consisted of foreigners.[29] The great majority of them were poor people and were members of the Catholic Church.[30] In 1855 most of the Germans

28. Detroit *Free Press*, May 4, 1842.
29. In 1850 Detroit had a foreign population of 9,927 out of a total of 21,019, which in the next decade increased to 21,349 out of a total of 45,619. In 1860, 7,220 of these were natives of Germany, 5,994 of Ireland, and the rest came mainly from England and Canada. *Compendium of the U. S. Census* (1850), pp. 350, 399; *Census of 1860* (Introduction to Population), p. xxxi.
30. In 1860 there were five Catholic churches in Detroit which

and Irish resided in three wards. The former were in the majority in the fourth and seventh wards and the latter composed almost the entire population of the eighth.[31] In 1837 the German citizens held a meeting at which they promised their support to the candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket.[32] In the election of 1844 the naturalized citizens of Detroit as well as of the remainder of the State gave strong support to Polk.[33] At every charter, State and presidential election from 1848 until 1859, the three wards in which the foreigners resided gave a majority to the candidates on the Democratic ticket. In the latter year the party was divided.[34] The Germans cast a majority of their votes for a candidate of German nationality for mayor on the Republican ticket, but the Irish voters remained faithful to the Democratic party.[35] In 1860 the Democratic candidate for Governor polled a majority in each of the three wards; Douglas carried the fourth and the eighth wards, but lost the seventh by 18 votes.[36]

30. *Con.* seated a total of 4,484 people. One of these was located in the second ward, two in the fourth, one in the seventh and one in the eighth. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, pp. 532, 535, 536, 538, 539, 630.
31. Detroit *Advertiser*, March 7, 1855. The seventh ward had been set off from the fourth in 1848 and the eighth had been added in the following year. In 1860 the population of the fourth ward was 4,690; of the seventh, 6,245; and of the eighth, 5,593. *Census of 1860* (Population), p. 246.
32. Detroit *Free Press*, October 30, 1837.
33. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 136, p. 167.
34. This division was due to a quarrel between the local leaders.
35. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 9 and 10, 1859.
36. *Ibid*, November 29, 1860; Detroit *Weekly Tribune*, November 20, 1860.



Detroit in the early fifties

Majority of residents Germans

Composed mainly of Irish.

About the same political situation existed in some of the German settlements in Saginaw County. In 1845 a colony of Bavarians and Franconians of the Lutheran faith settled in the township of Frankenmuth.[37] This became one of the most flourishing settlements in the county.[38] The greater portion of the German voters in the county were probably Democrats.[39] In 1860 those in Frankenmuth Township cast the overwhelming vote of 183 for the candidates for President and Governor on the Democratic ticket to only 24 for those on the Republican ticket.[40]

In the early fifties, several German families who had left the fatherland on account of the unbearable political situation, the social unrest and the bad economic conditions,[41] settled on farms along the Tittabawassee River in Saginaw County. Most of them were well-to-do and would be expected to join the Whig party; but since they regarded the Democratic party as the protector of the rights of the naturalized citizens,[42] the majority of them supported the candidates on the tickets of this party.[43] Though opposed to slavery, they believed that the doctrine of popular sovereignty would prevent its extension.[44]

37. *History of Saginaw County* (1881), p. 225.
38. Fox, *History of the Saginaw Valley*, p. 72.
39. Frank, *Pionierjahre der Familien Frank-Kerler*, p. 36. Saginaw County had a large German population in the fifties. See George Von Bosse, *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 194.
40. East Saginaw *Courier*, November 29, 1860.
41. *Frank*, p. 39.
42. Eduart Barck to his loved ones in Germany, *Ibid*, pp. 407-409.
43. *Ibid*, p. 39.
44. *Ibid*, pp. 407-409.

The majority of the French voters were Democrats, though they did not support this party in such large numbers as the Irish and German citizens in the early days. In 1838 in a meeting in Detroit, the French voters expressed a determination to do their utmost for the candidates on the Democratic ticket.[45] In 1844 the French citizens of Monroe County were such ardent supporters of Polk that four years later the Whig leaders felt that it would be useless to campaign among them.[46] In 1854 the *Courrier des Etat Unis* supported the Kansas-Nebraska Bill because it gave the people of the Territory complete control over their domestic institutions.[47]

Practically all the Hollanders in the Grand River Valley became Democrats when they reached this country. A large number of them were very conservative and continued their allegiance to the Democratic party, though the unceasing agitation of the slavery question and the influence of some of the leaders gradually won the more radical constituents to the ranks of the Republican party.[48] In 1851 the candidate for circuit judge on the Democratic ticket received a large majority in the Dutch settlement in Ottawa County.[49] In the townships of Holland and Zeeland the candidate of this party for the same office also received a majority at the spring election in 1858.[50] In November of the same year the Democratic candi-

45. Detroit *Free Press*, October 25, 1838.
46. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 138, p. 222.
47. Quoted in New York *Weekly Tribune*, June 7, 1854.
48. Dosker, *Levensschets van Van Raalte*, pp. 227-228.
49. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, April 9, 1851.
50. Grand Rapids *Eagle*, April 7, 1858.

date for Governor polled a majority of 110 in the former and 53 in the latter township.[51]

Because of the limited amount of data it is difficult to say how the immigrants from England and Canada voted. Since the majority of those who came in the early days were poor people, the voters were probably Democrats.[52]

Though most of the naturalized citizens were Democrats, some were Whigs. This was the case in Springwells Township in Wayne County where the majority of the residents were French. During the forties they uniformly voted the Whig ticket.[53] Judging from the large majority which the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1860 polled in this township, it is evident that very few of these French citizens joined the Republican party.[54]

Nevertheless a large number of the aliens united with the Republican party, especially in the late fifties after the Know-Nothing movement had died out. The increasing agitation of the slavery question had its effect on the foreigners as well as on the natives, but not to the same extent. In the fall of 1854 a prominent lawyer in Detroit estimated that about

51. Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, November 7, 1858. The following spring, the Democratic candidate for Chief Justice received a large majority. Grand Rapids *Eagle*, April 6, 1859.
52. In 1838 a large number of Canadians came to Michigan as a result of the revolt against England. Detroit *Free Press*, February 20, 1838. E. A. Theller, the editor of the *Spirit of '76*, was a political refugee and was a Democrat.
53. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 139, p. 109.
54. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 29, 1860.

twelve hundred German and Irish voters in the city had already become Republicans.[55] This year the *Volksblatt* which was the leading German Democratic paper in the State supported the candidates on the Republican ticket.[56] Had it not been for the nativistic tendencies of the Whigs and the suspicion that the Republicans[57] were in close alliance with the Know-Nothings, the aliens would probably not have voted the Democratic ticket as consistently as they did.

The greater portion of the Scotch resided in the rural districts. Since they were fairly well-to-do and much better educated than the Germans and Irish,[58] the Whigs considered them desirable citizens. Most of them were either Whigs or abolitionists. The Scotch residents of Oakland County became Free Soilers in 1848. In the presidential election of 1856 and the spring election of 1860, the Scotch voters of Bruce Township in Macomb County gave strong support to the candidates on the Republican ticket.[59]

It has been noted that most of the foreign immigrants in the early statehood period were poor and uneducated, and were obedient to the dictates of Democratic politicians. The collapse of the revolution of 1848 in Germany caused a large number of political refugees to emigrate to America. They were well educated men[60] who had led a professional career in the father-

55. *Howard and Mandell Letter Book*, No. 49, p. 371.
56. Pontiac *Gazette*, September 2, 1854.
57. *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, II, 131.
58. Martineau, *Society in America*, II, 96-97.
59. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 8, 1856; Detroit *Weekly Tribune*, April 10, 1860.
60. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVIII, 495; *History of Saginaw County* (1881), p. 226.

land, and some were well-to-do. They had been revolutionists and were radicals who placed principle before men.[61] When these revolutionists fled to America they expected to realize for the first time the government of their dreams. Trained in the school of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity,"[62] they could see nothing but injustice in the institution of slavery, and therefore they enlisted in the ranks of the Republican party. There were however no great leaders among those who settled in Michigan.

While many of them located in the cities, some settled on farms.[63] Such was the colony of Westphalians which settled in Blumfield Township in Saginaw County.[64] In the judicial election of 1859 the Republican candidate polled a large majority in this township.[65] In the following year these Germans cast 92 votes for the candidates for President and Governor on the Republican ticket and only 22 for those on the Democratic ticket.[66]

The position of the Republican party on the liquor question was not satisfactory to all Germans. One of them, who had been a liberal in Germany,[67] made the following statement in regard to the political situation:[68] "Our choice in politics leaves much to

61. Detroit *Free Press*, April 17, 1860; *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, II, 100 ff.
62. *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, II, 41, 43.
63. Detroit *Free Press*, April 17, 1860.
64. *History of Saginaw County* (1881), p. 226. Settlements were also made at Amelate, Frankenhuelfe, and at Saginaw and Bay City.
65. Saginaw *Enterprise*, April 7, 1859.
66. East Saginaw *Courier*, November 29, 1860.
67. Wm. Seyfferdt to his parents, *Frank*, p. 157.
68. Same to same, *Ibid*, p. 290.

be desired, slavery on the one side, the temperance humbug on the other." The writer was such a bitter opponent of slavery[69] however that he chose what he regarded as the lesser of two evils and voted the Republican ticket in spite of the "temperance humbug."

After the Know-Nothing movement had spent its force, the Republican party made considerable gains in the Dutch settlements in the Grand River Valley. In October, 1858, the Republicans held their first meeting in Holland Township in Ottawa County.[70] This year the *Daily Eagle* made the following observation in regard to the party predilections of the Dutch and German citizens in Grand Rapids:[71] "Full one-half of the Germans and Hollanders of this city now vote and act with the Republican party. They are devotedly attached to the cause of freedom, and have only been kept away from the Republican party hitherto by the humbug charge of Know-Nothingism which has been made against it by political demagogues." In April, 1859, the Republicans in Holland Township elected the town ticket, except the clerk and the treasurer.[72] In the following year the whole party ticket except one supervisor was elected.[73] The gains made by the Republican party were probably due to the influence of the Reverend A. C. Van Raalte, the founder and leader of the colony. He was a bitter

69. Same to same, *Ibid*, pp. 157, 411.
70. Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, October 14, 1858.
71. *Ibid*, November 12, 1858.
72. *Ibid*, April 6, 1859.
73. *Ibid*, April 6, 1860.

opponent of slavery[74] and in 1860 he was an ardent supporter of Lincoln.[75]

74. Dosker, *Levensschets van Van Raalte*, p. 227.
75. *Ibid*, p. 229.

CHAPTER VIII

Organization of the Know-Nothing and the Republican Parties

IN 1854 a large portion of the conservative wing of the Whig party formed the Know-Nothing organization. The purpose of this half-secret political party was to prevent the foreigners and Roman Catholics from exercising too much power in politics and from getting control of the Government. While the conservative Whigs regarded the majority of the aliens as a poor and illiterate element which was easily controlled by Democratic politicians and was not yet capable of handling the ballot, on the other hand they looked upon the large number of radicals in the Republican party as equally undesirable political associates. Consequently after trying in vain to prevent the disruption of the Whig party in 1854, these conservatives organized the Know-Nothing party.

As early as 1844 some of the leading Whigs had begun the movement for a native American party. Since practically all the alien voters had supported Polk, the conservative Whigs decided that the political power of the foreign element would have to be reckoned with in the near future. After the election of 1844 an article appeared in the *Oakland Gazette* which stated that the question would have to be settled sooner or later whether the native Americans or the aliens

should rule this country.[1] A newspaper entitled the *American Citizen* began publication in Detroit in the following year.[2] About this time a conservative Whig residing in Pontiac wrote to Woodbridge as follows:[3] "Does not the result of this election shake our confidence in the government? Can we ever hope to establish sound doctrines in this country? Look at the course the foreigners have pursued among us. Will they not always oppose Whig principles? Is it not better for us to make a bold appeal to native Americanism, get up a storm of passion and sweep the scoundrels from the country? Will they not overwhelm our country in a few years? And ought we not to meet the danger now while we can master it?..... I firmly believe that the Catholic religion, united with lawless democracy, will seize this country in less than 20 years unless it be put down immediately. Now the question is, what shall we do? Submit? No, by heaven, we cannot submit."

When the Whig and Free Democratic papers began discussing a plan for the union of the anti-slavery elements in 1854, the Detroit *Advertiser* resisted this movement.[4] Throughout the year the editor of this paper was the spokesman for the conservative faction and fought for the preservation of the Whig party. Finding that this was a hopeless task, he said on December 11: "The present period is favorable to the formation of a great conservative party which

1. *Oakland Gazette*, November 27, 1844.
2. *Ibid*, January 1, 1845.
3. George W. Wisner to Wm. Woodbridge, *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 136, p. 156.
4. Detroit *Advertiser*, May 31, 1854.

would exert a controlling influence on the government. Planting itself on true American principles that embrace the whole country, it would seek to protect what we have, to improve and adorn; to defend our institutions against internal enemies as well as external."

The Know-Nothing party in Michigan was comparatively weak and short-lived. It was strongest in the cities in the spring of 1855. On July 1 of this year the Detroit *Advertiser* changed hands and became a Republican paper. After that the members began to withdraw from the American party and it became weaker.[5] During the campaign of 1856 interest in the party was revived and the organization became more vigorous for the time being. After election this party gradually became extinct.

It is difficult to say how strong the Know-Nothing party was in 1854, since it placed few if any candidates in the field. A portion of the Americans probably supported the Republican candidates on the State, congressional and county tickets.[6] On October 12 the Know-Nothings held their annual meeting at Detroit, on which occasion according to the Democratic press, they adopted a resolution making the Republican candidates on the State and congressional tickets second degree members of their organization.[7]

Early in 1855 a large number of Germans of Detroit

5. Niles *Republican*, July 14, 1855; Grand Rapids *Daily Herald*, November 20, 1855.
6. Niles *Republican*, November 11 and 18, 1854; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, November 11, 1854.
7. Niles *Republican*, October 28, 1854.

formed an "Anti-Know-Nothing Association."[8] Its membership was open to all who wished to join. In the charter election there were two tickets in the field: the Independent which the Know-Nothings and Republicans supported, and the Democratic for which the Democrats, the Catholics and foreigners voted.[9] The three wards in which the majority of the alien and Catholic voters resided gave overwhelming majorities to the candidates on the Democratic ticket.[10] The native American party was victorious this year in Marshall, Battle Creek, Pontiac, Mt. Clemens and Kalamazoo; with the aid of the Republicans they elected their ticket in Grand Rapids.[11] The Know-Nothings also elected a majority of the supervisors in Cass County.[12]

The Americans in Michigan tried to keep the slavery issue out of the party's politics. On May 30, 1855, the Detroit *Advertiser* declared that if this subject was agitated through the action of the National Council, a "speedy decay and dissolution" of the party would follow. The Michigan delegates attended the meeting of the National Council at Philadelphia in June,[13] but when the council adopted resolutions on the slavery question they withdrew.

On May 6 of the following year the Grand Council of the American party in Michigan met in Detroit.

8. Detroit *Free Press*, January 30, 1855.
9. Detroit *Advertiser*, March 2 and 7, 1855.
10. Detroit *Free Press*, March 11, 1855.
11. Detroit *Advertiser*, March 14, April 11 and May 9, 1855; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, April 4, 1855.
12. Niles *Republican*, October 20, 1855.
13. Detroit *Advertiser*, June 11, 1855.

This body elected delegates to attend the meeting of the National Council, and adopted resolutions approving the course of the delegates in withdrawing from the meeting in the preceding year and asserting that since the National Council had tried to make "this order a slavery propagandist," the State Council could no longer affiliate with the national order. It was also resolved that the "Grand Council" was "sovereign and independent of any body" except its "constituent subordinate agencies."[14]

The followers of Fillmore held their State convention at Grand Rapids on October 3. A permanent organization was formed and an electoral ticket was placed in the field.[15] In November Fillmore received 1,660 votes from 36 counties.[16] Three counties had cast no votes for this candidate and no returns had been received from eight counties.

As has been said, the Native American party in Michigan passed rapidly out of existence after the election of 1856. Many of the members joined the Republican party, some became Democrats and a few remained independent of party organization. In 1858 William Woodbridge, the greatest of all the conservatives, was a man without a party.[17]

The Republican party in Michigan was organized in 1854 for the purpose of preventing the further extension of slave territory. This union of the anti-slavery forces into a political party was in a sense the culmination of the coalitions between the Whigs and

14. *Ibid*, May 9, 1856.
15. Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer*, October 4, 1856.
16. Pontiac *Gazette*, December 13, 1856.
17. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 140, p. 172.

Free Soilers on the issues in national politics in the late forties and early fifties. The vast majority of the converts, won by the propagandists by means of years of agitation through the anti-slavery societies, the press, the Liberty and Free Soil parties, the Protestant churches and the schools, went into this new party. It was composed of practically all the Free Democrats, the majority of the radical Whigs and most of the radical Democrats. These radicals cared less for men and parties than for the success of cardinal principles and were willing to sacrifice their respective party organizations in order to carry out these principles. The editor of the New York *Tribune* reflected the ideas of this element when he said that he was not devoted to the Whig party but to Whig principles, that every political party should be dissolved after it had been in existence about twelve years because corruption crept in, and that the surest way of carrying out Whig principles was through the organization of a new party.[18] He also expressed the sentiment of the more radical of anti-slavery forces when he made the following comment on the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill:[19]

"Better that confusion should ensue—better that discord should reign in the National councils—better that Congress should break up in wild disorder—nay, better that the capitol itself should blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall and bury all its inmates beneath its crumbling ruins—than that this perfidy and wrong should be finally accomplished."

18. New York *Daily Tribune*, April 11, 1854.
19. *Ibid*, May 10, 1854.

The radicals in Michigan usually took the lead in each demonstration of opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The protests of the conservative element were so mild that they were much like a faint echo of the thundering outcry of the radicals. Scarcely was the Nebraska Bill introduced in Congress when the Free Democratic and Whig press burst forth in violent condemnation. On January 14 the organ of the Free Democratic party in Michigan said: "Such a bill as this once adopted, the Missouri Compromise would be virtually repealed, and the territory over which it extends exposed to the introduction of slavery, as Utah is. Will the North quietly submit to be tricked and wheedled out of this free territory? Are the compromises only to be regarded when they advance the interests of slavery? . We will see whether the miserable subserviences of the present administration will seek to signalize itself by a support of this infamous bill." When Congress was about to pass the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, this paper became more vehement in its denunciation of the "shameful violation of plighted faith."[20] Many of the editors of the Whig press were equally outspoken in their condemnation of this measure.[21]

Another form of opposition was the holding of public meetings. On these occasions, radicals usually held most of the offices, made speeches and drew up the resolutions. On February 13 a large meeting was held at Albion and resolutions were adopted, declaring

20. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, May 24, 1854.
21. *Washtenaw Whig*, February 8, 1854; Detroit *Advertiser*, May 12 and 27, 1854; Pontiac *Gazette*, February 4, 1854.

that any attempt to extend slavery north of 36° 30′ was a violation of a solemn compact, that it was the duty of the Senators and Representatives in Congress to oppose all attempts to enlarge slave territory, and that a protest was entered against the extension of slave territory.[22] On the 18th some of the citizens of Detroit held a meeting for the purpose of protesting against the bill in Congress. In one resolution, they declared that the Missouri Compromise had "all the solemnity of a national compact, second only to the constitution," and they remonstrated therefore against the "measure now pending in Congress."[23] In the latter part of February a call for a meeting in Pontiac, signed by sixty persons irrespective of party, appeared in the *Gazette*. Resolutions very severe in tone were adopted at this meeting. One denounced as "traitors to freedom" those members of Congress who had voted for the Nebraska Bill, while the last resolution declared that since the South had thrown down the gauntlet, they accepted "the challenge, and henceforth" they would "wage unceasing war against slavery, in all climes, in all forms, without respect to the color of its victims."[24] Similar meetings were held at Leoni in Jackson County,[25] at Kalamazoo,[26] and a second one at Detroit on June 7.[27] The Democratic press in Branch County,[28] the Democratic caucus

22. Marshall *Statesman*, February 15, 1854.
23. Detroit *Advertiser*, February 20, 1854.
24. Pontiac *Gazette*, March 11, 1854.
25. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, February 28, 1854.
26. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, March 17, 1854.
27. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, June 8, 1854.
28. Coldwater *Sentinel*, February 17 and March 3, 1854.

meeting at Otisco[29] in Ionia County, a county convention in Calhoun County[30] and the Free Democratic convention in Kent County[31] protested against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Besides these meetings, petitions to Congress remonstrating against the Kansas-Nebraska Act were circulated for signatures. On February 8 at a meeting at Dexter in Washtenaw County a resolution was adopted providing for the circulation of such petitions for signatures.[32] A remonstrance was placed in one of the stores in Ann Arbor where it was signed by those interested.[33]

On January 12 the State Central Committee of the Free Democratic party issued a call for a State convention at Jackson on February 22.[34] At the appointed time the convention met, resolutions were adopted and a State ticket was placed in the field.[35] Kinsley S. Bingham, the erstwhile leader of the radical Democrats, was nominated for Governor and Nathan Pierce, a farmer in Washtenaw County, for Lieutenant Governor.

The radical leaders began and in a large measure conducted to a close the campaign for united action which culminated in the organization of the Republican party. These men had brought about most of the temporary coalitions of the Whigs and Free Soilers

29. Pontiac *Gazette*, April 1, 1854.
30. Marshall *Statesman*, June 7, 1854.
31. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, June 12, 1854.
32. *Ibid*, February 10, 1854.
33. *Washtenaw Whig*, March 8, 1854.
34. Detroit *Democrat*, January 12, 1854.
35. *Ibid*, February 23, 1854.

during the preceding six years.[36] The majority of them wanted this union for the purpose of putting their cardinal principle into effect.[37] And all of them wished to unite "for the purpose of breaking down locofocoism" in the State.[38]

The editors of the newspapers played a prominent part in this movement. Charles DeLand, editor of the Jackson *Press*, stated later that circular letters, asking for expressions from the Whig editors which were sent out by some of the editors of eastern papers, induced the Whig editors of Michigan to hold a conference at Jackson in February, 1854. At this meeting the members of a committee to attend the Free Democratic State convention on the 22nd were appointed. On the evening of the 21st this committee held a conference with the Free Democratic leaders. The latter decided to hold their convention and place a ticket in the field, but they agreed to appoint a committee which should call a mass convention for the purpose of withdrawing the Free Democratic ticket in case a feasible plan of union was presented.[39] In March the leading Whig editors of the State held a meeting at the *Tribune* office, but they apparently accomplished very little toward a union.[40]

Joseph Warren, the radical editor of the Detroit *Tribune*, probably originated the idea of holding a

36. These coalitions are discussed in Chapter VI.
37. Such a union of the anti-slavery forces had been under consideration since the election of 1852.
38. *Howard and Mandell Letter Book*, No. 49, p. 371. See also New York *Weekly Tribune*, June 24, 1854; Hillsdale *Standard*, July 4, 1854.
39. Livingstone, *History of the Republican Party*, I, 20-21.
40. *Ibid*, p. 26.

convention for the purpose of effecting a union of the anti-slavery forces which resulted in the famous mass convention "under the oaks" at Jackson. Through the columns of the *Tribune* he appealed to the readers in the following manner:[41]

"Our proposition is that a convention be called irrespective of old party organizations, for the purpose of agreeing upon some plan of action that shall combine the whole anti-Nebraska, anti-slavery sentiment of the State, upon one ticket. If this should be done we have declared our willingness to see the Free Soil ticket renominated."

That the opponents of slavery were willing to unite was shown by the expressions of the press and the action of some of the local conventions. The Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, the Marshall *Statesman*, the Coldwater *Journal* and the Detroit *Democrat* urged their constituents to form a union in order to resist the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.[42] On April 21 the Free Democrats of Kent County adopted a resolution rebuking their "unfaithful servants" in Congress and declaring that the people would take into their own hands the control of the Government "irrespective of any old political party or name."[43] On March 6 the citizens of Pontiac declared in a meeting that they would "forget party ties and preconceived political feelings, and unite together in a solemn covenant to do, act and suffer all things to destroy American

41. Quoted in Detroit *Advertiser*, June 5, 1854.
42. Quotations in New York *Daily Tribune*, May 3, 1854; Detroit *Daily Democrat*, May 27, 1854.
43. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, June 12, 1854.

slavery."[44] At a meeting in Calhoun County on May 30 those present resolved that they were willing to unite with the "friends of freedom."[45]

The formation of a satisfactory plan of union was a difficult process. The majority of the radical Whigs were reluctant to unite with the Free Democrats except upon a basis of equality. The Grand River *Eagle* stated that the Free Democratic party would have to surrender its State ticket and give up its party organization to the same extent that was required of the Whigs, before a union could be effected.[46]

On the other hand, the Free Democrats were willing to make concessions;[47] but they refused to unite with the Whigs or Democrats as a political party.[48] A leading Free Democrat stated later that an effort was made to form a coalition by a meeting of representative men. Since the Free Democrats cared very little for men and a great deal for principle this attempt ended in a failure. The only way a union could be effected, he said, was by means of a mass convention.[49]

The action of the Free Democratic party in June removed a great obstacle which had been in the way. Late in May the Free Democratic State Committee issued a call for a mass State convention on June 21 at Kalamazoo "to oppose the consummation of the

44. Pontiac *Gazette*, March 11, 1854.
45. Marshall *Statesman*, June 7, 1854.
46. Quoted in Detroit *Daily Democrat*, June 14, 1854.
47. *Ibid*, June 14, 1854.
48. *Ibid*, May 11, 1854.
49. Hovey K. Clarke to the editor of the Detroit *Post and Tribune* on July 3, 1879, Supplement to the Detroit *Daily Post and Tribune*, July 6, 1879.

repeal of the Missouri Compromise."[50] On the appointed day, between one hundred fifty and two hundred persons assembled in this city. Six resolutions were adopted. The first five denounced the aggressions of the slaveholders and declared that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the "crowning act of the series." The sixth resolution, which provided for the abandonment of the Free Democratic party, was fully discussed before it was adopted. It stated that if an organization giving effect to Free Soil principles should be contemplated, this party would willingly surrender its organization and State ticket. A committee of sixteen was to carry out the provisions of this resolution.[51]

Before this convention was held, a call had been drawn up by Isaac P. Christiancy, a leading Free Democrat, for an independent convention to be held at Jackson on July 6. In almost every part of the State, Free Democrats, radical Whigs and many conservative Whigs signed their names to this call[52] and in a fortnight the number of signatures reached ten thousand. The majority of the conservative Whigs, who endorsed this movement, undoubtedly had no intention of disbanding their party organization.[53] They apparently believed that the Free Democrats would unite with the Whig party or that the latter would control the new organization.[54] The

50. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, May 25, 1854.
51. *Ibid*, June 22, 1854.
52. Detroit *Advertiser*, July 6, 1854.
53. *Ibid*, July 3 and 6, 1854. In Detroit, a large number of business men signed this call and later urged the calling of a Whig State convention.
54. *Ibid*, July 6 and 8, 1854.

Detroit *Advertiser*, the organ of the conservative wing, urged the Whigs to attend this convention for the purpose of exerting a conservative influence and of saving the Whig party.[55]

On July 6 over fifteen hundred persons assembled in Jackson to attend the mass convention.[56] As there was no building in town which would hold so large a number these people gathered in an oak grove. Walbridge, a conservative Whig from Kalamazoo, was elected chairman of the convention for the purpose of inducing the reluctant members of his party to acquiesce in the union.[57] The members of the committees on resolutions and nominations and of the State central committee were appointed.[58]

Jacob M. Howard was selected as the chairman of the committee on resolutions: He was a prominent lawyer in Detroit and leaned toward the radical faction in the Whig party. He had represented his district in Congress in 1840.[59] He was a strong opponent of slavery and was a conductor on the underground railroad.

The committee on resolutions adjourned to the edge of the oak grove and here several platforms were submitted for consideration. Finally with some modifications, the committee accepted the platform drawn up by Howard. The planks in this platform urged the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, of the Fugitive

55. *Ibid*, July 8, 1854.
56. The newspapers at the time estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 persons attended this convention.
57. Livingstone, *History of the Republican Party*, I, 36.
58. Pontiac *Gazette*, July 15, 1854 for the proceedings.
59. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), pp. 357-358.

Slave Rendition Law, and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Austin Blair, a member of the committee, regarded this platform as being much too mild and submitted a minority platform to the convention. The convention tabled Blair's platform however and adopted the one submitted by Howard.[60]

Austin Blair, who is best known to the people of Michigan as the "war governor," was born in western New York in 1818 and settled in Jackson, Michigan, in 1841 where he practiced law.[61] He was bitterly opposed to slavery, and as a member of the Legislature in 1846 he urged the extension of the elective franchise to Negroes.[62] Two years later he joined the Free Soil party. Blair was a free thinker in religion and favored the doctrines of the Unitarian Church.

Christiancy, chairman of the Free Democratic committee of sixteen, withdrew that party's State ticket and the Republican ticket was placed in the field. Bingham, the candidate for Governor on the Free Democratic ticket, was nominated for that office on the new ticket. Two other Free Democratic candidates were also given places on the Republican ticket.[63] This ticket was composed of four Free Democrats, four Whigs and two Democrats. The party was named in the following resolution:[64] "That in view of the

60. Livingstone, *History of the Republican Party*, I, 37.
61. *Michigan Biographies* (1888), pp. 105-107.
62. Detroit *Advertiser*, May 6, 1846.
63. Pontiac *Gazette*, July 8 and 15, 1854. The committee on nominations agreed on Bingham's name by a vote of 69 to 17.
64. *Ibid*, July 15, 1854.

KINSLEY S. BINGHAM

From the oil portrait in the Capitol, Lansing.

necessity of battling for the first principles of republican government, and against the schemes of aristocracy, the most revolting and oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed, or man debased, we will co-operate and be known as *Republicans* until the contest be terminated."

The Republican State Committee issued an address urging their constituents in the congressional districts to meet in mass conventions and place tickets in the field.[65] On September 20 a mass convention in the first district was held at Detroit, and during the fall local conventions assembled in the counties of Calhoun, Barry, Eaton, Genesee, Hillsdale and Oakland.[66]

The conservative Whigs were much displeased with the outcome of the mass convention at Jackson. The editor of the Detroit *Advertiser* who reflected the views of this element believed that the Whig party occupied the true ground on the leading issue in national politics and that its organization should be maintained.[67] The chief grievance of the conservatives was that a portion of the Free Democratic candidates were given a place on the Republican ticket[68] and that the new party had been organized under a new name.[69] They regarded this as a direct blow at the Whig party.[70] The *Advertiser* which believed that the convention had

65. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, August 31, 1854.
66. *Ibid*, October 2, 1854; Detroit *Advertiser*, September 21, 1854; Marshall *Statesman*, September 6, 1854; Pontiac *Gazette*, September 2, 30, 1854; Hillsdale *Standard*, September 19, 1854.
67. Detroit *Advertiser*, May 31, 1854.
68. *Ibid*, July 6 and 8, 1854.
69. *Ibid*, July 8 and 10, 1854.
70. *Ibid*, July 10, 1854.

been controlled by the Free Democrats and those Whigs who wanted to break up their party made the following declaration:[71]

"Under these circumstances, are Whigs going to endorse the proceedings of the convention and support its nominees? Some may, but we do not believe the great body of them will. At any rate, we shall oppose uncompromisingly with whatever ability we possess, the ticket which has been nominated; and we call upon all good and true Whigs to do the same. Do this for the maintenance of the very principles upon which this Republican party rests, and for the preservation of the principles of your party, and that conservative influence which it has exerted so beneficially in the country; and do it to prevent the disbanding of your party by those who are seeking its destruction."

The Adrian *Expositor* ably assisted the *Advertiser* in this attempt to save the Whig party.[72] These papers reflected the sentiment of the commercial element in the State. In Detroit the vast majority of those who desired the preservation of the Whig party were the wealthy merchants engaged in the wholesale business.[73] They had not been candidates for office and had not taken an active part in politics. They did not want business interests disturbed.[74] To this element the Republican party was too broadly

71. *Ibid*, July 8, 1854.
72. *Ibid*, July 25, 1854. Quoted from Adrian *Expositor*, July 21, 1854.
73. This conclusion has been reached after a study of the Whigs in Detroit who requested a Whig State convention and ticket. The Detroit city directory for 1854 has been the chief source.
74. *Howard and Mandell Letter Book*, No. 49, p. 826.

democratic at the base and too radical at the top. The conservatives felt that their duty and that of the Whig party was to suppress all agitation of the slavery question.[75] In their estimation their party was the only conservative organization in the field of politics.[76]

In August a movement was set on foot for the holding of a State convention of the Whig party. A group of Whigs in Grand Rapids deplored the organization of the Republican party and declared that they would remain true to the Whig party.[77] Long lists of names signed to requests for a Whig State convention and the nomination of a State ticket were sent in from New Buffalo,[78] Adrian,[79] Ypsilanti,[80] Kalamazoo,[81] Detroit,[82] Coldwater,[83] Pontiac,[84] and Berrien County.[85] Short lists came from Ann Arbor,[86] Lapeer,[87] Flint,[88] Van Buren,[89] Wayne County and other points.[90] Most of the long lists were signed by a hundred or more names,—many for that day.

The Whig State Central Committee issued a call for a State convention to meet at Marshall on October

75. Detroit *Advertiser*, July 31, 1854.
76. *Ibid*, July 31 and September 22, 1854.
77. *Ibid*, August 2, 1854.
78. *Ibid*, August 3, 1854.
79. *Ibid*, August 8, 1854.
80. *Ibid*, August 9, 1854.
81. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, August 18, 1854.
82. Detroit *Advertiser*, August 21, 1854.
83. *Ibid*, August 8, 1854.
84. *Ibid*, August 24, 1854.
85. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, July 28, 1854.
86. Detroit *Advertiser*, August 10, 1854.
87. *Ibid*, August 16, 1854.
88. *Ibid*, August 29, 1854.
89. *Ibid*, August 30, 1854.
90. *Ibid*, August 5, 7 and 15, 1854.

4.[91] The Whig conventions of Berrien[92] and Oakland[93] counties instructed their delegates to oppose the nomination of a Whig State ticket and the convention in Calhoun County instructed its delegates either to oppose the placing of a Whig ticket in the field or to obtain the renomination of the Republican candidates.[94] On October 4 the Whig delegates assembled in the convention at Marshall, and strange as it may seem Rufus Hosmer, a prominent Republican, was elected president of the convention. James A. Van Dyke, a resident of Detroit, was appointed chairman of the committee on resolutions. His address to the convention was adopted as the party's platform. In this address he declared that the Whigs would retain their party organization, but that they would make no nominations.[95] In deciding not to place any ticket in the field the convention left the Whigs free to vote as they pleased. Van Dyke advanced a rather curious explanation of this negative party policy. He said that if the convention nominated the candidates on the Republican ticket a large number of Whigs and some Democrats would not vote for them.[96] This was a very open, though unintentional, confession of the weakness of the Whig party.

There was however some dissatisfaction in the convention. The editor of the *Advertiser* entered a protest

91. Pontiac *Gazette*, September 2, 1854.
92. Supplement to Detroit *Post and Tribune*, July 6, 1879.
93. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, September 9, 1854.
94. Marshall *Statesman*, October 4, 1854.
95. Pontiac *Gazette*, October 14, 1854.
96. J. A. Van Dyke to editor of the *Tribune and Inquirer*, quoted in the Pontiac *Gazette*, October 14, 1854.

which was received and ordered to be published, in which he declared that several of the county committees had incorporated in their calls for conventions invitations to all who were opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. As a result several delegates who were identified with other parties had been given seats in this convention. He protested against the election of Hosmer as president.[97] Another leading Whig introduced a motion to expel Warren, editor of the *Tribune*, from the convention,[98] but this received only four votes.

The Democratic press, with the exception of the Coldwater *Sentinel*, maintained that there was no danger of slavery being extended into Kansas and Nebraska,[99] and commended the doctrine of popular sovereignty set forth in this Act.[100] The Democrats felt that they ought to nominate a candidate for Governor who would secure the votes of a large number of Whigs.[101] Accordingly they adopted a resolution in the State convention affirming the principle of squatter sovereignty and nominated two conservatives, John S. Barry who had thrice led his party to victory, and William A. Richmond, a resident of the Grand River Valley, for Governor and Lieutenant Governor.[102]

In November Bingham received 43,652 votes and

97. *Ibid*, October 14, 1854.
98. Livingstone, *History of the Republican Party*, I, 48.
99. Detroit *Free Press*, January 15, 1854; Niles *Republican*, March 4, 1854; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, May 21, 1854.
100. Detroit *Free Press*, January 15, 1854; Kalamazoo *Gazette*, February 17, 1854; Niles *Republican*, February 18, 1854.
101. Niles *Republican*, September 2, 1854.
102. *Michigan Argus*, September 22, 1854.

State election in 1854
51 to 55 per cent for the Republican candidate for Governor
56 to 60 " " " " " " " "
61 per cent and over " " " " "
Majority for the Democratic candidate for Governor
No returns

Barry 38,675.[103] The total vote was 981 less than in 1852. The Democratic candidate polled 4,123 votes less than in 1852 and the Republican received 3,142 more than the combined vote of the Whig and Free Democratic parties in that year. Barry received majorities in the counties of Allegan, Chippewa, Ingham, Lapeer, Livingston, Mackinac, Macomb, Monroe, Ottawa, Saginaw, Sanilac, Shiawassee and Wayne.[104] The Democrats elected nine Senators and twenty-six Representatives and the Republicans twenty-two Senators, forty-three Representatives[105] and three of the four Congressmen.[106]

An analysis of the election returns shows that the larger part of the Republican vote came from the interior counties in the two southern tiers. A large number of small farmers resided in these counties. Most of them had come from New England and New York.[107] New York and Vermont furnished a large number of

103. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
104. Marshall *Statesman*, December 27, 1854. No returns had been received from Schoolcraft County.
105. Detroit *Free Press*, November 19, 1854. Returns were lacking from Montcalm County and from one senatorial district.
106. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, December 29, 1854.
107. *Compendium of U. S. Census* (1850), pp. 116-118; *Census of 1860* (Population), p. 248. In 1850 there were 341,591 native born and 54,852 foreigners in the State. In 1860 the native population had increased to 600,020 and the foreign to 149,093. Of the native residents in 1850, 3,266 were born in slaveholding States, 140,648 in Michigan, 17,567 in other States of the Northwest, 133,756 in New York and 30,923 in New England. In the next decade, 2,047 came from the slaveholding States, 57,372 from New York, 25,284 from the States in the Northwest outside of Michigan and 7,183 from New England.

the leaders.[108] The small farmers were bitter opponents of slavery and had furnished most of the recruits to the Liberty and Free Soil parties. They were advocates of the homestead bill and said in 1854 that the members of Congress from the slaveholding States would defeat this bill in order that the Northerners could not get free homes in Kansas.[109] This class was especially numerous in the south-central counties and here the Republican party was very strong. The leading Democratic paper in Branch County was a staunch supporter of the homestead bill[110] and an opponent of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The editor declared that in taking this stand he reflected the opinion of the Democrats in this county.[111] The laborers and artisans of American nativity in the cities,[112] many physicians,[113] most of the Protestant

108. The following is true of the Republican members of the Legislature of 1855: Place of birth: western New York, 14; eastern New York, 7; New York, 4; Vermont, 11; Massachusetts, 4; other New England States, 5; elsewhere, 4. Church membership: Methodist Episcopal, 3; Baptist, 2; Congregational, 2; Quaker, 2; Presbyterian, 1; Unitarian, 1. The age of the youngest member was 25 and of the oldest 58. The average age was 42.85 years.

109. Coldwater *Sentinel*, March 17, 1854; New York *Daily Tribune*, March 13, 1854.

110. Coldwater *Sentinel*, March 17, 1854.

111. *Ibid*, March 3, 1854.

112. In 1856 a large number of Democrats supported Fremont. Most of them were clerks, artisans and laborers.

113. In the Republican Legislature of 1857, there were twelve physicians, but not enough lawyers in the House to constitute the judiciary committee and not more than five lawyers in the Senate. Detroit *Advertiser*, January 8, 1857.

clergymen[114] and a few lawyers also joined the Republican party. On the other hand, the commercial classes and the aliens tended to hold aloof from this party.

The majority of the members of the temperance organization voted the Republican ticket in 1854 and afterwards.[115] The Whig party had advocated the adoption of the Maine liquor law.[116] Most of the Free Democrats were prohibitionists[117] and had a temperance plank in their platform in 1854.[118] The Republicans took up this issue and in 1855 the Legislature passed a prohibitory law. The Democrats regarded temperance as a moral question and did not believe that it could be enforced by legislation.[119] One of the planks in the Democratic platform in 1856 demanded the repeal of the prohibitory law because it was inefficient and was not enforced.[120] Commenting on the attitude of the Democrats a New York paper said that the party in Michigan "draws very much of its vitality from variously disguised whiskey and lager beer."[121]

The Republican party had a majority in the Legislature of 1855. In his inaugural message Governor Bingham denounced the Fugitive Slave Rendition Law

114. This is dealt with in the next chapter.
115. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, November 11, 1854. On July 22, 1856, the *Free Press* stated that there were three elements against the Democrats: (1) The Maine liquor law advocates; (2) The Know-Nothings; and (3) The anti-slavery factions.
116. Pontiac *Gazette*, August 6, 1853.
117. New York *Daily Tribune*, April 26, 1854.
118. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, February 23, 1854.
119. Detroit *Free Press*, July 10, 1855.
120. *Ibid*, August 8, 1856.
121. New York *Daily Tribune*, April 26, 1854.

of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He called the attention of the Legislature to the expediency of instructing the Senators in Congress to procure the adoption of such measures as would restrict slavery.[122]

Accordingly a bill for this purpose was introduced in the Senate. On January 19 it was passed by a vote of 23 to 5,[123] and five days later it was adopted in the House by 48 to 23.[124] Two Democrats in the Senate and one in the House voted for it. After denouncing the institution of slavery and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise this Act instructed the Senators and requested the Representatives to procure the passage of a law prohibiting the introduction or existence of slavery in the Territories, and to secure the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Rendition Law.[125]

On January 31 Erastus Hussey of Calhoun County introduced a bill in the Senate for the purpose of protecting the rights and liberties of the inhabitants of Michigan.[126] After its passage this was known as the Personal Liberty Law. The Senate passed this bill on February 9 by a vote of 18 to 9.[127] Three Republicans voted against it and one Democrat for it. Three days later the House adopted this measure by 40 to 28[128] and on the 13th it was approved by the Governor. The chief provisions of this Act were: (1) The prosecuting attorneys in each county should

122. *Joint Documents* (1855), Doc. 12, pp. 22-23.
123. *Senate Journal* (1855), pp. 97-98.
124. *House Journal* (1855), p. 207.
125. *Laws of Michigan* (1855), pp. 483-485.
126. *Senate Journal* (1855), pp. 173-174.
127. *Ibid*, p. 348.
128. *House Journal* (1855), pp. 606-607.

protect and defend all persons claimed as fugitive slaves; (2) All persons arrested as fugitive slaves were entitled to the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus and of trial by jury; (3) It prohibited the imprisonment of all persons so arrested in any jail or prison in the State; (4) It made the seizure of a free person with the intent of enslaving him a penitentiary offense; and (5) The testimony of two credible witnesses was required to prove that a person was a fugitive slave.[129]

In the summer of 1856 sixty-nine Whigs in Detroit signed an appeal to the Whigs of Michigan, in which they stated that the difference between the Whig and Democratic parties had "become narrowed down to an honorable rivalry for obtaining possession of the power of the government." Looking upon the Democratic party as the great conservative organization which would prevent the dissolution of the Union, they declared that they would support Buchanan.[130] Most of the signers of this appeal were wealthy merchants in Detroit and many of them were the same men who, two years before, had tried to save the Whig party. It was reported that a large number of Whigs in Barry County had also come out in favor of the Democratic candidate.[131]

On the other hand, many Democrats supported Fremont. Over two hundred Democrats in Detroit in an address to the members of the party in the State declared that they intended to vote for the Republican

129. *Laws of Michigan* (1855), pp. 413-415.
130. Detroit *Free Press*, August 23, 1856.
131. *Ibid*, August 31, 1856.

candidate.[132] The majority of them were clerks, artisans, laborers and small shop keepers,[133]—the class of voters to whom the principles of the Republican party would make a strong appeal. A large number of Democratic voters in the counties of Berrien and Ingham also came out in favor of Fremont.[134]

While the Democrats were using their campaign cry, "Buchanan and Breckenridge, The Union, now and forever" as a vote winner, the Republican leaders were making a much more effective appeal to the people with the watchwords of their party, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Men and Fremont." The success of their party's principles, the Republicans said, would be the realization of the doctrines set forth in the Declaration of Independence. Since the majority of the people in Michigan were comparatively poor and a large number of young men reared under the influence of the anti-slavery propagandists were settling in the State each year, the radical utterances of the leading Republicans easily won many votes for Fremont. In the summer and fall each party held a large number of meetings at which political speeches were delivered and campaign songs were sung. On one

132. This address was published in pamphlet form and was entitled "Freeman's Pamphlet or Republicanism and Locofocoism, Their Measures and Policy" by a "Young Democrat."

133. The number of signers was 222. The above statement is based on a study of these men in the Detroit City Directory for 1856.

134. The address of the Ingham County Democrats is published in pamphlet form. For statement concerning the Berrien County Democrats see Detroit *Advertiser*, October 10, 1856.

occasion the ladies of Pontiac sang the following to the music of "Auld Lang Syne:"[135]

While Kansas' murdered freemen lie
On every sunny plain,
And blazing homes light up her sky
Like death fires for the slain;
While Southern treason rages high,
And grows the deadly feud,
The North sends back her battle cry,—
We will not be subdued!

The South may send her champions out,
Or cowards armed with canes,
The freemen of the North fear not
Her tyrants or her chains;
And when she lifts her red right hand
With brothers blood imbrued,
We scorn her boastings and her threats,
We will not be subdued!

A mighty army go we forth,
With Fremont in the van,
To wage the warfare of the North,
For freedom and for man;
And he who sought the western sea,
Through wilds of solitude,
Shall lead us on to victory,
We will not be subdued!

In the election Fremont received 71,762 votes,

135. Pontiac *Gazette*, October 11, 1856.

Buchanan 52,136, and Fillmore 1,660.[136] Bingham, the Republican candidate for Governor, polled 71,402 votes and Felch, the Democrat, 54,085.[137] The Republicans elected the Congressmen in the four districts.[138] The Democratic party elected only four State Senators and thirteen Representatives.[139] Six of these Representatives were elected in Wayne County and one in each of the following: Chippewa, Houghton, Livingston, Macomb, Monroe, Saginaw and Shiawassee.

It thus appears that the Know-Nothing party in Michigan was comparatively weak and short-lived. The conservative Whigs, who were opposed to the participation of the foreigners and Catholics in politics and feared the radical tendencies of the Republicans, constituted the chief element in the Know-Nothing party. After its dissolution, many of them became Republicans, some joined the Democratic party and a few refused to unite with either. The Republican party was composed of the Free Democrats, the radical Whigs and radical Democrats. These new Republicans were mostly the small farmers in the interior counties in southern Michigan, a few merchants, the shop keepers, artisans, clerks, many laborers of American nativity and most of the physicians. The vehement allegiance of practically all the Protestant clergymen and the members of the State temperance organization gave a pronounced moral character to the Republican party.

136. *Ibid*, December 13, 1856.
137. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
138. Detroit *Free Press*, November 20, 1858.
139. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 10, 1856.

CHAPTER IX

The Churches in Michigan Politics

THE churches in Michigan took a definite stand on the leading issues in politics in the ante-bellum period. The alignment of the church members according to political parties is rather difficult to determine, because this element constituted only a small portion of the total population, and secondly because of the large number of women and children and those who had not yet reached the voting age who were members of the churches. Nevertheless there was a tendency, in some cases general, for the members of each church to show a preference for a certain political party.

Prior to the Civil War there was a general tendency for the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians to vote the Whig ticket until that party disbanded, when many of them became Know-Nothings or joined the Democratic party. A large number of the Baptists, Quakers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church were Democrats in the early statehood period, then political abolitionists and Free Soilers; and in the fifties, a considerable portion of them joined the Republican party. The Wesleyan Methodists were practically all members of the anti-slavery parties. The Congregational Church was composed of both Whigs and Democrats in the early days, but a large portion of them went into the Free Soil and Republican

parties. Practically all the Roman Catholics and most of the Lutherans were staunch Democrats throughout the ante-bellum period. The Mormons usually voted the Democratic ticket during their short period of residence in Michigan.

There were a few obvious reasons for the above party predilections of the church members. In the first place, most of the Presbyterians and Episcopalians were well-to-do and educated citizens who resided in the cities.[1] The influence of wealth and of an old and strongly organized church tended to make the members of both churches very conservative. The Presbyterian preachers entered eastern Michigan and established churches in the leading cities and towns before most of the other Protestant denominations obtained a firm foothold in the State.[2] Therefore the well-to-do inhabitants, and in many cases people who would otherwise have become members of other denominations, united with the Presbyterian Church.[3] Throughout the period prior to the war both the Episcopal and the Presbyterian churches were stronger in eastern Michigan[4] where there was a comparatively large

1. Pilcher, *History of Protestantism in Michigan*, p. 211; Letters of Lucius Lyon, *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVII, 454.
2. This was true in Detroit, Monroe, Ann Arbor and Flint. Pilcher, *History of Protestantism in Michigan*, pp. 64-65, 211, 227, 228; "History of the Presbyterian Church of Flint" in *Michigan Historical Collections*, XIII, 410-413.
3. Pilcher, *History of Protestantism in Michigan*, pp. 59-61, 211.
4. The total membership in the east in 1840 was 3,203 and in 1860, 4,699. In the west, there were 1,553 members in 1840 and 3,572 in 1860. Of the total increase, .425 per cent was in the east. *Minutes of the General Assembly*

number of well-to-do citizens than they were in the western part of the State, though neither kept pace with the Methodists in either section.[5]

In striking contrast, the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church were usually poor and uncultured country folks.[6] This was partly due to the fact that in the early days the church depended on the work of the itinerant ministers who, avoiding the cities,[7] traveled about through the thinly settled rural districts and preached a vital religion to people thirsty for the word of God.[8] The simple doctrine of free grace preached with such fiery eloquence by these circuit riders made a much stronger appeal to the untutored minds of these poor backwoodsmen than did the more complex tenets of the Presbyterians. Furthermore the religious services in the Methodist Church furnished an excellent outlet for the pent-up emotions of these frontiersmen and afforded an opportunity for an expression of their deep religious feelings. Occasionally some of the well-to-do and cultured folks joined this church. Whenever this happened, the wealthy and aristocratic people in the community, who regarded

of the Presbyterian Church (1840-51), pp. 52-54; *Ibid*, (1859-61), pp. 371-376. In 1860 the Episcopal Church had 1,797 members in the east and 598 in the west. *Journal of the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention* (1860), pp. 55-100; Trowbridge, "History of the Episcopal Church in Michigan" in *Michigan Historical Collections*, III, 216.

5. In 1859 the Methodists had 14,007 members in the east and 13,025 in the west. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences* (1858-59), pp. 346-356.
6. Pilcher, *History of Protestantism in Michigan*, pp. 59-61.
7. *Ibid*, 59-61, 211, 320. Pilcher, one of the circuit riders, points out that this policy of the church was a mistake.
8. *Ibid*, p. 81

it as a duty and almost a pleasure to look after the welfare of their neighbors, were horrified.[9]

The itinerant ministers were the pioneer Protestant preachers in many parts of the west and the membership of the Methodist Church increased much more rapidly in this section than in the east.[10] In fact in some communities in the east the membership remained stationary during the forties and made only a small increase in the following decade.[11]

The members of the Congregational Church were scattered throughout the State wherever New Englanders had settled, but the majority of them were found in the small towns and villages.[12] There were both extreme radicals and ultra-conservatives in this church, though the former appeared to be predominant. Until 1842 most of the Congregational churches were under the control of the Presbyterian organization.[13] Since the "Congregational lamb was being swallowed up by the Presbyterian lion,"[14] some of the young men in western Michigan who had made a study of the early history of the church began to agitate the question of

9. *Ibid*, p. 256.
10. In the east, the number of members in 1840 was 8,008 and in 1860, it was 14,007. In the west, it was 5,980 in 1840 and 13,025 in 1860. The per cent of increase in the east was .427. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences*, III, (1839-45), p. 88; *Ibid* (1858-59), pp. 346-356.
11. In Wayne County, the increase in membership in the Presbyterian Church from 1840 to 1850 was .06 per cent; from 1850 to 1860, .04. The Methodist Church increased only .005 between 1840 and 1850 and in the next decade, .03.
12. *Minutes of the General Association of Michigan* (1851), pp. 20-21.
13. *First Fifty Years of Michigan Congregational Churches*, pp. 25-29.
14. *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

a separate organization.[15] As a result representatives from a small number of churches met at Jackson in 1842 and organized a General Association.[16] Since practically all the churches which constituted this association were in the rural districts, and in most cases in western and northern Michigan, it would seem therefore that the younger and more radical people separated from the Presbyterian Church. The failure of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to adopt strenuous measures condemning slavery and slaveholding played no small part in bringing about this separation.[17]

The Baptists, Quakers and Wesleyan Methodists resided chiefly in the rural districts and represented the class of people which was in moderate financial circumstances. The Baptists were quite likely to be former New Yorkers and their church, like the Methodist, had been built up through the labors of pioneer ministers who had begun preaching the Gospel to the country people in eastern Michigan in the early twenties.[18] After 1830 the church grew rapidly.[19]

15. *Ibid*, pp. 25-29. L. Smith Hobart, a young minister who had come from central New York to take charge of the church at Union City in southwestern Michigan, was a leader in this movement. He was a student of early church history and had seen the effect of the union in New York.
16. There were about thirteen small churches in the association.
17. *Pilcher*, pp. 424-425 for a list of the delegates present; Bush, "History of the First Congregational Church and Society of Leroy, Calhoun County, Mich." in *Michigan Historical Collections*, XIII, 413-424; Duffield, *Our National Sins to be Repented of*, pp. 15-16.
18. Trowbridge, *History of the Baptists in Michigan*, pp. 8, 11.
19. *Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

Though this church was the strongest in eastern Michigan in the forties, the membership declined in some localities in the next decade,[20] but increased considerably in the west and north.[21] Quite a number of Friends had settled on farms in southern Michigan in the Territorial period, but very few came after 1840.[22] The Wesleyan Methodist Church was composed of a small group of radicals who separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church because it opposed the abolition movement in the church.

Most of the Catholics were poor and illiterate aliens, who resided in the cities. The nativistic tendencies of the Whigs alienated the Catholics and the German Lutherans, while the Democrats befriended them; consequently this element consistently voted the Democratic ticket throughout ante-bellum times.

As the Presbyterians and Episcopalians represented the wealthy and conservative class, many of the voters in those churches were Whigs. Throughout 1838 when the distress resulting from the financial crisis was felt most severely the Whig party was aided by the *Mich-*

20. The membership in Lenawee and Washtenaw counties decreased between 1846 and 1858. In the former year, there were 5,020 members in the east and in the latter, 6,713. *Michigan Christian Herald*, November 23, 1846; Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer and Herald*, December 1, 1858; see also statistics in *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Convention of Baptist Church of Michigan* (1841), pp. 21-25.
21. During the above dates, the membership in the west increased from 2,376 to 5,023 or .679 per cent.
22. There were Quaker settlements in the counties of Cass, Lenawee and Calhoun. Many of the Friends had come in the twenties. Cooley, *Michigan*, pp. 247-248; Rogers, *History of Cass County*, pp. 179, 209; *Michigan Historical Collections*, III, 357.

igan Observer, the organ of the Presbyterian Church, which was published at the office of the Detroit *Advertiser*.[23] On October 23 the *Observer* published a sermon which had been preached before the State Synod, which contained an appeal to the church members to vote against the party in power. The minister said in part:[24] "Shall profane men be enabled thus to contemn God and trample on his laws by the countenance of partners in business? Or if this be done by state authority, will Christian men, by their own votes allow such disturbers of the peace to be in power?" From the Grand River Valley and from the counties of Jackson and Washtenaw the report came this year that before the election the Presbyterian preachers in those sections also urged their congregations to vote the Whig ticket.[25]

In the fall of 1840 a Whig party rally took place in the Presbyterian session house in Detroit. The Democratic press stated that Tippecanoe flags floated above the building and that campaign songs were sung within its walls.[26] In the election there was a tendency for those communities in which the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches were strong to cast a large vote for the Whig candidates.[27]

On the other hand, the Democratic vote was very large in the Quaker settlements in Lenawee County in

23. Detroit *Free Press*, December 3, 1838.
24. *Ibid*, December 3, 1838.
25. *Ibid*, December 3, 1838.
26. *Ibid*, October 1, 1840.
27. This conclusion has been reached after a comparison of the vote in the election and the church membership.

the election of State officials in 1837 and 1839.[28] In the early forties the Democratic candidates usually received strong support from the communities in which there was a large number of Baptists, Methodists and Catholics.

In the ante-bellum period the party predilections of the church members was determined in large degree by their attitude on the slavery question. In the period from 1835 to 1850 the anti-slavery organizations and the Liberty and Free Soil parties contained a large number of Quakers and Baptists. As the Wesleyan Methodists were the radicals who had separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church because the leaders tried to prevent the members from taking part in the abolition movement, most of the voters in this church were political abolitionists and Free Soilers. In spite of the fact that the ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church held aloof from the abolition movement until after 1850[29] and the press in the East tried to suppress the agitation,[30] many of the lay members of this church joined the anti-slavery organizations in the early days. After the Congregationalists separated from the Presbyterian Church they took an active part in the abolition movement.[31]

Strong influences were brought to bear on the Congregationalists and Baptists which caused them to be-

28. Detroit *Advertiser*, December 5, 1837; Detroit *Free Press*, November 18, 1839.
29. Matlack, *History of American Slavery and Methodism* (1849), p. 199.
30. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, December 12 and 26, 1850, February 10, 1854.
31. At most every meeting of the General Association anti-slavery resolutions were adopted.

come even more determined opponents of slavery. One influence was Olivet College. This institution had been founded in 1844 by a Congregational minister from Oberlin College and a company of thirty-eight persons,[32] and the school was of course anti-slavery in sentiment. Furthermore the members of this church in the Vermontville colony in Eaton County read the New York *Observer* as their weekly religious paper,[33] which gave space to political questions and was a strong opponent of slavery. Another influence was the *Michigan Christian Herald*, the organ of the Baptist Church in Michigan. This paper had been founded in 1842[34] and was edited most of the time until the Civil War by men who were bitterly opposed to slavery.[35] In 1846 two thousand three hundred subscribers were reported and the circulation had increased to two thousand seven hundred in 1857.[36] Almost every number contained editorials or communications in which slavery was attacked. The readers, many of whom depended upon this paper for their news and valued its statements next to those in the Bible, could not have remained unmoved by these biting editorials.

Comparatively few Presbyterians and Episcopalians were actively interested in the anti-slavery

32. *First Fifty Years of Michigan Congregational Churches*, p. 51; Matthews, *Expansion of New England*, pp. 233-234.
33. Article on the Vermontville colony, *Michigan Historical Collections* XXVIII, 237.
34. Trowbridge, *History of the Baptists in Michigan*, p. 92.
35. Two of these were Reverend Miles Sanford, editor from 1844 to 1846 and Reverend George W. Harris, editor from 1848 until 1862.
36. Trowbridge, *History of the Baptists in Michigan*, pp. 93-94.

movement, though the State Synod adopted resolutions denouncing slavery;[37] and George Duffield, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, preached sermons in the early days against the institution.[38] Between 1848 and 1860 the Episcopalians of Michigan did not take any action on the slavery question in their annual conventions. Likewise the Catholics and Lutherans, interested primarily in improving their economic and social position, were uninfluenced by the abolition agitation. The Irish citizens of Detroit refused in the early forties to take part in this propaganda, a refusal which chalked the line over which very few Catholics ever stepped.

In 1844 the *Michigan Christian Herald* opposed the annexation of Texas because it would extend slave territory.[39] Several of the members of the Free Will Baptist Church of Cook's Prairie in Calhoun County supported Birney this year.[40] A large number of the Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church also voted the Liberty party ticket.

Many of the religious leaders opposed the Mexican War and urged the adoption of the Wilmot Proviso. In a sermon on July 4, 1846, Reverend George Duffield denounced the war. He declared that it was an aggressive war against a weak nation, that it was

37. *Minutes of the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Synod* (1884), p. 54.
38. Thanksgiving sermon, November 28, 1839; Sermon on American Slavery, December, 1839. Both published in pamphlet form.
39. *Michigan Christian Herald*, May 6, 1844.
40. "History of the Free Will Baptist Church at Cook's Prairie," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, X, 49.

unconstitutional, and that it was fought in the interest of the slaveholders.[41] Two years later the Niles *Republican* stated that several ministers of the Gospel had heaped odium on the administration.[42] The *Christian Herald* asserted that if the people of the North did not insist on such restrictive measures as the Wilmot Proviso they would be "recreant to every sentiment of freedom and humanity."[43]

The measures for the sectional readjustment in 1850 had a marked influence on the political alignment of the church members. These measures, especially the law for the more effective rendition of fugitive slaves, caused the members of the radical churches to become irreconcilable opponents of slavery and won many converts to the Free Soil party. Had it not been for the Rendition Act, they would probably not have paid much attention to the issues in national politics. Even the preachers in the Methodist Church, who had hitherto refrained from agitation, became in a few years active leaders in the propaganda.

The editor of the Baptist organ made light of the secession movement in the South and said that the Union was not in danger, "compromise or no compromise."[44] He declared also that slavery should be excluded from New Mexico and California.[45]

The Baptists were foremost in remonstrating against the Rendition Act. The *Herald* declared that it was the most "execrable law that ever disgraced the

41. Detroit *Free Press*, July 10, 1846.
42. Niles *Republican*, January 8, 1848.
43. *Michigan Christian Herald*, March 31, 1848.
44. *Ibid*, March 31, 1850.
45. *Ibid*, August 4, 1848.

records of a civilized government,"[46] and that it was unconstitutional, because it was in conflict with the divine law.[47] At the State convention the following resolution was adopted:[48] "Resolved, That the recent law of Congress relative to the re-capture of fugitive slaves violating as it does every guarantee of personal rights, setting aside all the ordinary forms of law, giving an exclusive regard to the interests of the slaveholder, and requiring freemen and Christians, in order to its enforcement, to violate their obligations to humanity, to conscience, and to God, is a flagrant violation of civil and moral rights and calls for prompt and efficient efforts on the part of all Christian citizens by all lawful means to obtain its speedy repeal."

At the meeting of the General Association in the following year, the Congregationalists registered their protest against this Act. They declared that its enactment and enforcement was "a blow struck not only at the flying bondman, but at humanity, conscience, and the peace of the nation."[49] In 1853 the members of the Association adopted the following resolution in which they refused to obey the Rendition Law:[50] "That we hereby record again our protest against the infamous Fugitive Slave Act, and our unalterable purpose 'not to deliver to his master, the servant that is escaped from his master to us,' but to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.'"

46. *Ibid*, October 10, 1850.
47. *Ibid*, October 31, 1850.
48. *Ibid*, October 17, 1850.
49. *Minutes of the General Association* (1851), pp. 6-7.
50. *Ibid* (1853), pp. 14-15.

The leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Michigan, forced into inactivity through the conflicting influences of the conservative element in the East which opposed agitation[51] and the large number of radicals in the State who were willing to adopt very severe measures against slavery, did not take any action as a church on political issues until after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. By this time the views of the Methodists in the Northwest on the slavery question were directed in a large measure by the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, a new religious weekly, which had been founded by a former Michigan preacher and was published in Chicago.[52]

Though the church in Michigan had taken no action on the issues in politics, Elijah H. Pilcher, the great leader of Methodism in ante-bellum times, denounced the Fugitive Slave Rendition Act in 1852 in an address at Adrian entitled, "The Unconstitutionality of Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law."[53] In the fall of 1854 a resolution was adopted at the State conference of the church expressing the "deepest abhorrence" at the "operations of the Fugitive Slave Law" and declaring an intention of aiding in the formation of such a public opinion as would demand the repeal of this Act.[54] In the following year a resolution was passed which stated that it was the "duty of Christian men to vote right"

51. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, December 12, 1850.
52. This paper was first published in January, 1853, by Rev. James V. Watson.
53. Pilcher, *Life and Labors of Elijah Pilcher*, pp. 116-117.
54. *Minutes of the 19th Session of the Michigan Annual Conference* (1854), pp. 33-34.

as well as "to pray right," and that they should prevent the further extension of slave territory.[55]

On the other hand the Presbyterians believed in 1850 that there was danger of the Union's dissolution. Reverend George Duffield reflected the views of the majority of the members of this church in his Thanksgiving sermon in which using as his text "Our Federal Union, a Cause for Gratitude to God," he dwelt at length on the noble features of the Union and then attacked the abolitionists and the secessionists in the following language:[56]

"We have no fellowship, or sympathy, with those who make that Constitution their reproach, and seek to rend this glorious Union, because slavery has not yet been extirpated. All organized societies, and combinations, pledged by oaths and promises, under whatever religious or other pretexts, it may be done, to yote only for men, that will, at all hazards prosecute their purpose, and who seek to agitate and inflate the angry stormy passions of men, do but peril every collateral interest and aim of good government, and, eventually, become the turbid fountains of faction. Such means, to secure an end, however desirable in itself, only betray ignorance of the very nature of true liberty. Those who adopt them, evince as well, their utter unfitness for liberty themselves, as the danger of entrusting them with the liberty of others.....

"It is indeed, an evil, serious and distressing, that Slavery exists.—Would that it could be speedily removed! But we fear that empyrical physicians,

55. *Minutes of the 20th Session* (1855), pp. 35-36.
56. Sermon published in pamphlet form, p. 12.

and ignorant quacks, who looking only at the festering sore, and understanding not the importance and necessity of attending to preserve the constitution in its healthful vigor, may administer poisonous nostrums, only to irritate, and end in incurable gangrene and dissolution."

Apparently the Episcopalians and Presbyterians as churches held aloof from the vehement outburst of feeling which the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill brought forth. Instead, the Presbyterians became more conservative. Though a resolution rejoicing over the progress of the anti-slavery sentiment was adopted at the meeting of the Synod in 1854,[57] this body two years later made an appeal for moderation in order to prevent Civil War.[58]

The members of the other Protestant churches helped to swell the volume of protest against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In this outburst, the Baptists, the Free Will Baptists and the Methodists were foremost, though a large number of Congregationalists were very active participants.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill had not yet passed Congress when the editor of the Baptist paper took his stand against this measure and the extension of slavery, in the following editorial:[59] "The question has religious bearings to which the Christian cannot be

57. Semi-Centennial Sermon, October 10, 1884, *Minutes of the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Synod* (1884), p. 54.
58. *Ibid*, p. 54. In 1859 the *Presbyterian Expositor* condemned the radical expressions in the resolutions of the General Association of the Congregational Church of Illinois. *Presbyterian Expositor*, June, 1859, pp. 331-332.
59. *Michigan Christian Herald*, March 2, 1854.

indifferent. It is the duty of Christians to seek to hold the vast territories open to the gospel, and to the institutions which spring from the religious sentiment. But they will prove unfaithful to such trust if they allow this field to be overrun with such a system worse than the heathenism which they are laboring to destroy in the distant field."

The leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan were probably the strongest opponents of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Rev. Elijah H. Pilcher opposed it by interviews with politicians, in public addresses, and by contributions to the press. While the bill was under discussion in Congress he wrote a series of articles on popular sovereignty which were published in the Adrian *Watchtower*.[60] Early in 1854 the editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* declared that he would not silently permit the addition of any slave territory.[61] He urged the people of the North to emigrate to Kansas[62] and in November, when he was rejoicing over the "certain triumph of liberty over slavery" and of prohibition over the liquor traffic, he declared that ninety out of every one hundred readers of the paper were in sympathy with him.[63] At the annual conference in the following year the Methodists of Michigan adopted a resolution asserting that since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Rendition Act and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, they felt that it was "incumbent on every Christian man

60. Pilcher, *Life and Labors of Elijah Pilcher*, p. 117.
61. *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, February 8, 1854.
62. *Ibid*, October 11, 1854.
63. *Ibid*, November 15, 1854.

to exert all possible influence against the extension of Slavery, by civil legislation."[64]

When the Free Soil party met in the State convention in June, 1854, a letter was received from Nathanial Colver, a Methodist minister. In it he condemned the aggressiveness of the slaveholders and stated that the union of the anti-slavery forces into a new political party was necessary, but that such a union would be very difficult to effect because of the opposition which it would encounter from the conservative element. He expressed a desire that the Free Soil convention would adopt measures which would facilitate this union.[65]

The attitude of the congregations in the Methodist Church toward sermons dealing with political questions was illustrated by an interesting incident which happened at Niles in the summer of 1856. In violent language the pastor of the Methodist Church at that place denounced the Rendition Law and the Act opening Kansas and Nebraska for settlement.[66] The editor of the Niles *Republican* criticized the minister through the columns of his paper.[67] Thereupon the male members of the church held a meeting and adopted resolutions upholding the course of the pastor and stating that the editor had wronged him.[68]

A group of ministers met at the Free Will Baptist Church in Jackson on July 7, 1854, the day following

64. *Minutes of the 20th Session of Mich. Annual Conference* (1855), pp. 35-36.
65. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, June 22, 1854.
66. Niles *Republican*, August 23, 1856.
67. *Ibid*, August 30, 1856.
68. *Ibid*, September 6, 1856.

the organization of the Republican party in that city and after a full and free discussion adopted a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of six members to confer with the ministers and "Christians" in the State in regard to the "relations of Christianity to slavery, in the present crisis of our political affairs," and to the issuing of a call for a State convention "if, after consultation, they shall deem it expedient."[69] The members of this committee were appointed, but apparently no further action was taken.

The resolutions adopted by the Congregationalists were mild in tone when compared with those which they directed against the Rendition Law. In one resolution they stated that they deeply lamented the "repeal of the Missouri Compromise whereby slavery may have a legal existence in territory hitherto deemed forever devoted to freedom, and that it is the duty of Christian freemen to make constitutional efforts to prevent its existence within the public domain."[70]

In 1854 the members of the Protestant churches were urged to cast their votes for candidates for office who would oppose the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In the fall, the *Christian Herald* urged its readers to vote for candidates for Congress and the State Legislature who were true to the cause of freedom, humanity and temperance.[71] The *Northwestern Christian Advocate* declared that the "men who receive our Christian suffrage for our national legislature for the next five years, especially, be sounded, pumped,

69. Detroit *Daily Democrat*, July 13, 1854.
70. *Minutes of the General Association* (1854), p. 14.
71. *Michigan Christian Herald*, October 26, 1854.

questioned on the subject of their willingness to see oppression's empire enlarged."[72] This year a paper on the duties of ministers was read before the ministerial conference of St. Joseph County, in which the author said in part:[73]

"It is their right and privilege as citizens to act and vote on all questions of public concernment; but it is especially their *duty* to vote and to influence the votes of others on the right side of politics now, when the great political question which agitates the nation is also a great moral question, in whose decision the salvation of the nation and of immortals souls depend.

"Not that it is their duty to come down from their high and holy work as ministers of the gospel and become mere political men, but remain in their own sphere, exerting a more potent influence against the aggression of the slave power than they possibly could by becoming mere politicians."

During the period of party readjustment in the fifties the Catholics and Lutherans, unmoved by the great agitation which was taking place around them and smarting under the attacks of the Know-Nothings, continued to cast their votes for the party which had befriended them in the early days. This was illustrated by the vote in Detroit and in Saginaw County. In 1856 about one-third of the people in Detroit were members of the Catholic Church.[74] A large portion

72. *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, October 11, 1854.
73. *Michigan Christian Herald*, October 12, 1854.
74. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, IV, 583. He cites the Detroit *Catholic Vindicator*, June 14, 1856, as his authority.

of these resided in the fourth, seventh and eighth wards.[75] From 1848 to 1859 the Democratic candidates received a majority of the votes in these wards at every election. A colony of Germans of the Lutheran faith which had settled in Frankenmuth Township in Saginaw County in 1845 cast an overwhelming vote for the candidates on the Democratic ticket in 1860.[76]

Just a few words at this point in regard to the party preferences of the "Latter Day Saints" who resided in northern Michigan. This colony of Mormons was founded on Big Beaver Island in 1847 by James Jesse Strang, the leader of the church at Voree, Wisconsin. Strang was born in Cayuga County, New York in 1813, received a public school education, and while working on the farm studied law from such books as he could get. He removed to Wisconsin in 1843 and was converted to Mormonism in the following year. Strang was a very small, unimpressive man with red hair and red beard, but nevertheless a very influential person in his church and a skillful politician.[77]

Practically all of Strang's followers in northern Michigan were Democrats[78] and constituted the greater portion of the voting population in Mackinac County in the early fifties. They elected their candidates

75. In 1860 all but one of the five Catholic churches in Detroit were located in these wards. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, pp. 534, 536, 538, 539, 540, 630.
76. East Saginaw *Courier*, November 29, 1860.
77. For full discussion see Utley and Cutcheon, *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, III, 299-310. The Mormons gave Biblical names to the places on Big Beaver, such as Lake of Galilee, Jordan River and Mount Pisgah.
78. *Western Chronicle*, August 9, 1860.

to the county offices in 1851 and elected Strang, a Democrat, to the Legislature two years later. The party predilections of the Mormons were doubtless due to the influence of their leader. As the result of a revelation Strang had himself crowned Prophet, Priest and King in 1850. His word was law on Big Beaver Island and his followers firmly believed that he had received from God his right to rule.[79] The decline of his power began however in 1855 when he ordered all women in the colony to wear the oriental trousers then advocated by Mrs. Bloomer of New York. Strang was waylaid and murdered in 1856 by the irate husbands of two women who had suffered because they refused to obey his order. After Strang's death the colony was broken up by the people in northern Michigan, who were hostile to the Mormons.

When the Lecompton Constitution was under discussion, the Methodist Church press condemned it. The *Christian Advocate* declared that the attempt to force slavery upon the people of Kansas must fail.[80] Attacking the President's message on Kansas, this paper said that in "forcing" the people to receive this constitution, Buchanan could not make them believe that it was done in "accordance with either justice, magnanimity" or humanity.[81]

By 1860 practically all the preachers and most of the members of the Protestant churches, excepting the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, had joined the Republican party. In regard to the party preferences

79. George C. Bates to President, June 23, 1851, *Bates Letter Book*, No. 342.
80. *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, December 30, 1857.
81. *Ibid*, February 17, 1858.

of the clergymen, the Kalamazoo *Telegraph* said:[82] "So few ministers of the gospel are left in the ranks of the 'Democracy' now-a-days that they cannot be said to enjoy that which ages ago, under the common law of England, was extended to felons—'*the benefit of the clergy.*'"

In the presidential election Lincoln received strong support from the religious element. In the communities in which there was a large number of Methodists, Baptists and Quakers a large vote was cast for him.[83] The vast majority of the Wesleyan Methodists probably also voted the Republican ticket.

In the localities where there were many Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Catholics, and Lutherans, Douglas polled a large majority of the votes. In several places in which the Episcopalians were numerous the Democratic candidate received strong support.[84] In Wayne County with one exception, the people in each township in which the Presbyterian Church had a large membership cast a large vote for Douglas.[85] The Catholics in Detroit and the Lutherans

82. Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, January 11, 1860.
83. Thomas, *History of the Society of Friends*, p. 285. In the Quaker settlements in the counties of Cass and Lenawee, the Republican vote was large in the former in 1856 and in the latter in 1858. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 10, 1856; Adrian *Watchtower*, November 11, 1858. In 1860 there were 13,011 Baptists; 7,255 Congregationalists; 3,079 Episcopalians; 28,798 Methodists; and 8,417 Presbyterians in Michigan, making a total of 60,560. *First Fifty Years of Michigan Congregational Churches*, p. 69.
84. *Minutes of the Twenty-sixth Annual Session of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (1860), pp. 55-100, *passim*.
85. *Minutes of the General Assembly* (1859-61), pp. 371-376.

in Saginaw County were also loyal supporters of the Democratic candidate.[86]

The religious leaders worked against the secession movement. The *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, denouncing the New England abolitionists and the Southern fire-eaters alike,[87] declared that the election of Lincoln was not a sufficient cause for secession.[88] This paper said that Civil War would result from disunion.[89] The Reverend George Duffield used Thanksgiving day as an opportune time for preaching a sermon in which he made an appeal for moderation, concession, the suppression of sectional hostility and the arousing of a national patriotism.[90]

86. Detroit *Tribune*, November 20, 1860; East Saginaw *Courier*, November 29, 1860.
87. *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, July 11, 1860.
88. *Ibid*, November 21, 1860.
89. *Ibid*, February 8, 1860.
90. Sermon in pamphlet form, pp. 25-26.

CHAPTER X

River and Harbor Improvement Issue

THE improvement of the rivers and harbors of Michigan at the expense of the Federal Government was a vital question not only to the people of this State but of the entire Northwest prior to the war. It played an important part in determining the party predilections of the voters. The magnitude of this issue will be realized when the facts are considered that Michigan has the longest lake coast line of any State in the Union,—more than sixteen hundred miles on four great lakes,—that there were few good harbors in the ante-bellum period, and that the lakes were subject to much more dangerous gales than those which occur on the ocean.[1] If the people of Michigan and the Northwest were to carry on their lake commerce without great losses the harbors would have to be improved. Michigan was a newly settled State and the people were comparatively poor. Furthermore they had suffered greatly as a result of the financial crisis of the thirties. Therefore not being able to bear the enormous expense of these improvements themselves, they had to look for outside help and naturally turned to the Federal Government.

The effect of this issue on politics in Michigan and the Northwest is worthy of considerable notice. It was especially disastrous to the Democratic party,

1. Blois, *Gazetteer* (1838), p. 53.

the injury resulting largely from the attacks made by its political opponents. Since the Democrats were in power most of the time during the two decades prior to the war, they were held responsible for the failure of practically every bill appropriating money for the improvement of the inland waterways which did not pass Congress. The Whigs, who were strong advocates of such improvements at the expense of the Federal Government, bitterly attacked the party in power for the failure of appropriation bills, fixing the blame mainly upon the Democratic Presidents and the members of Congress from the slaveholding States. When the Republican party was formed, its leaders and press skilled in the art of agitation, continued the attacks with increased vigor. The Whigs and Republicans both used the river and harbor improvement issue as a means of agitating the slavery question. These propagandists emphasized the hostility of the slaveholders to the improvement of the waterways of the Northwest and thus aroused a strong feeling of sectionalism among the people of the lakes region. Many of them were led to believe that an economic interest vital to the Northwest was menaced by the opposition of the Southerners. In this way a large number of converts were won to the anti-slavery cause. Therefore, even if the improvement of the inland rivers and harbors was not a prominent issue on the eve of the Union's dissolution, the frequent use of it by the agitators in connection with the slavery question intensified the bitter feeling which already existed between the Northwest and the South and helped to split the national Democratic party.

The river and harbor issue also helped to disrupt the Democratic party by causing dissension within the ranks. In the forties the Democrats in Michigan were not agreed on this question. The conservatives, upholding the views of General Cass, did not want to cause trouble in the party by openly opposing President Polk's vetoes of appropriation bills. The members of the party in the west on the other hand advocated appropriations by the Federal Government for these internal improvements and disapproved of the President's action. They were the disturbers in the party at this time. The western faction opposed the conservatives on the slavery question and fought to free the party from the control of Cass and his supporters. By the middle fifties however, there was a new alignment in the Democratic party on the river and harbor improvement issue. The Democrats in Michigan and the Northwest generally were united in demanding the improvement of the inland waterways while the President and the members of Congress from the slaveholding States were arrayed against them on this question. The party was now divided into sections on this issue. A sharper line was thus drawn between the Democrats in the Northwest and those in the South. The day of the final split in the national party was drawing nearer.

The people of Michigan began to take an active interest in the improvement of their rivers and harbors in the early forties, probably because they were recovering from the financial upheaval of the thirties by this time. The merchants were again doing considerable business and the farmers were getting out of debt.

The immigration to the State was increasing. Thus a greater interest was taken in lake commerce and transportation. The activity along these lines created a need of better harbors and more navigable rivers.[2]

In this decade the people of western Michigan especially desired Federal aid in the improvement of their rivers and harbors. This section was increasing very rapidly in population and wealth. Furthermore there were several harbors on the Lake Michigan coast and most of them were in a bad condition. The harbors at New Buffalo, St. Joseph and at the mouths of the Grand and Kalamazoo rivers, at which a great deal of shipping was done,[3] were in an especially bad shape.[4] Between 1835 and 1860 Congress appropriated over $700,000 for the construction of lighthouses and the improvement of the rivers and harbors of Michigan.[5] By the close of 1850 the appropriations amounted to more than $250,000 about $100,000 of which was expended for improvements on the western lake coast,—mainly at the mouths of the St. Joseph and Muskegon rivers.[6] Nevertheless the people in the western part of the State felt in the forties that the Federal Government was neglecting their interests.

The terrible disasters to shipping due to storms on

2. In 1841 the Governor approved a resolution requesting the Senators and the Representatives in Congress to try to procure an appropriation of money for the completion of the work begun by the Federal Government on the lake harbors. *Laws of Michigan* (1841), p. 205.
3. This was especially true of the mouth of the Kalamazoo. *Western Statesman*, December 1, 1842; *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 135, p. 230.
4. Detroit *Advertiser*, September 27, 1843.
5. Appropriations are found in the *U. S. Statutes at Large*.
6. *Ibid*, V, 130, 268, 619, 662; IX, 381.

the lakes in the latter part of 1842 also aroused the people to the immediate need of better harbors.[7] The papers urged the people to ask Congress for aid. In his annual message on January 2, 1843, Governor Barry, after mentioning the disasters on the lakes, stated that comparatively little money had been spent by the Federal Government for the improvement of the harbors in Michigan, though it had a greater extent of navigable coast than any other State in the Union. Continuing he said:[8] "The value of the property lost upon our shores within the last few years, for the want of sufficient harbors, probably exceeds the amount necessary for their entire construction. A proper representation of the facts to Congress may perhaps induce that body to take the subject into favorable consideration." On the 24th of January the Governor approved a memorial and resolutions of the Legislature which gave an account of the storms and then called attention to the needed improvements.[9]

The Whigs made political capital out of the river and harbor issue, being eager for the improvement of the inland waterways, probably reflecting the views of the commercial class. In the early forties the leaders and the press began telling their constituents that the Democratic party was hostile to these internal improvements at the expense of the Federal Govern-

7. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 26, 1842; *Western Statesman*, December 1, 1842; Niles *Republican*, December 3, 1842; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, December 9, 1842.
8. *Joint Documents* (1843), Doc. No. 1, p. 40.
9. *Laws of Michigan* (1843), pp. 218-223.

ment.[10] On July 23, 1843, the Whig convention of Monroe County adopted a resolution declaring that the Democratic party was opposed to the improvement of the lake harbors and rivers and that the members of the party would support any Whig candidate for Congress no matter whence he came because they knew that he would support appropriation bills for this purpose.[11] A resolution was also adopted by the Whig convention of Wayne County favoring liberal appropriations for the improvement of the lake harbors but expressing a lack of confidence in the professions of the opposing party.[12] During the campaign of 1844 Polk was charged with having consistently voted against the river and harbor bills and with being opposed to the expenditure of public money for the improvement of the inland waterways.[13]

The opposition of the national administration to the expenditure of public money on the waterways of Michigan evinced itself most sharply in the vetoes of river and harbor appropriation bills by the Democratic Presidents. This policy was not only bitterly denounced by the Whigs and Republicans but started a dangerous backfire in the Democratic ranks of Michigan. The political opponents of the Democratic party and a considerable number of Democrats themselves attributed these vetoes to the influence of the slaveholding interests on the Presidents and the party. There is probably very little documentary evidence

10. This issue was very prominent in the campaign of 1844.
11. Detroit *Advertiser*, July 31, 1843.
12. *Ibid*, October 4, 1843.
13. *Ibid*, July 4, September 25, October 31, 1844.

to prove or disprove such charges. Nevertheless it was well known that the members of Congress from the Southern States usually opposed the appropriation of money for the improvement of the waterways of the Northwest. Consequently the Whigs, Free Soilers and Republicans saw an opportunity to make effective political capital out of these vetoes. They made it appear that the Southern Democrats dictated the policies of the national administrations. Considerable dissatisfaction developed in the Democratic party as a result. As we have said, this disaffection was confined mainly to the Democrats of western Michigan in the forties, but in the next decade it spread throughout the Democratic ranks in the State and the Northwest generally. The Democratic press frankly admitted that the vetoes of the appropriation bills in the fifties were injurious to the party. We repeat therefore that these vetoes, regarded by many as a product of Southern opposition to the expenditure of money by the Federal Government on the waterways of the Northwest and usually mentioned by the agitators in connection with the slavery issue, tended to disrupt the Democratic party, to strengthen the Whig, Free Soil and Republican parties, and to hasten the growth of a feeling of antagonism between the sections.

The series of vetoes of river and harbor appropriation bills by Democratic Presidents was begun in the middle forties by President Polk and continued in the fifties by Pierce and Buchanan. The charge was made in the presidential campaign of 1844 that Polk was hostile to appropriations for the improvement of the rivers

and harbors of the lakes region. On January 20, 1845, William Woodbridge wrote:[14] "The subject of our lake commerce is becoming every day of more importance to this whole region, and the policy of continuing our harbor improvements is becoming more and more vitally important. How far we may be able to conquer the fierce opposition to this policy which the slave-holding politicians have already evinced to it, and especially that of Mr Polk is I suppose doubtful. But it is our duty, one and all of us of the lake country, to persevere in it." The expectations of the Whigs were in a large degree fulfilled when, on August 3, 1846, President Polk vetoed a bill appropriating money for the improvement of some of the lake harbors. In his veto message the President objected to the bill chiefly on the ground that it was unconstitutional. He pointed out that most of the objects of improvement mentioned in it were local in character and that the Constitution did not confer on the Federal Government the power to construct such works or to appropriate money for them. The passage of this bill he believed would establish a precedent and as a result every community would demand financial aid for the construction of unimportant projects. He maintained that this would be unjust to people, who contributed an equal share to the treasury but doubted the constitutionality of appropriations like this or did not deem them expedient. In conclusion he said that even if there were no constitutional objections to this appropriation, an unnecessary expenditure of money

14. Quoted in Lanman, *Life of William Woodbridge*, pp. 92-93.

should not be made at this time because the nation was at war.[15]

The editors of the Democratic papers submitted to this veto with only a mild protest. The *Free Press* was the only paper which spoke at all freely at this time. Its comment on August 11 was: "The constitutional objections appear to be well taken, but in the expediency portion of the message we differ with Mr. Polk from first to last..... To place the miserable quibble of expediency against the lives of our citizens is a doctrine to which we cannot subscribe. ... Many of our harbors on the lake shore are inaccessible during a storm, and vessels in sight of their destined port have been forced to send to the open lake and take their chance of being driven ashore rather than dare almost certain destruction in an attempt to enter their harbor in the fierce storms which sweep across the inland seas of the Northwest." The Grand Rapids *Enquirer* excused the veto by saying that the bill probably contained some improper appropriation and the Coldwater *Sentinel* accepted the veto because the measure was unconstitutional.[16]

The Whigs on the other hand were indignant over this veto. On August 16, the Marshall *Statesman* said: "President Polk's veto of the harbor bill excites universal indignation throughout the whole country, and especially along the borders of our great lakes, where its effects will be so seriously felt. In

15. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, IV, 460-466.

16. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, August 21, 1846; Coldwater *Sentinel*, August 18, 1846.

Buffalo and Detroit, on the reception of the news, the colors of the shipping in port were displayed at half mast, and the hardy sailors, stung to the quick by the outrage, employed every possible means to give expression to their contempt for the man who had wronged them, and for the flimsy excuses offered for his course." The Whig convention of Calhoun County adopted a resolution asserting that the President's veto was in strict accordance with the principles of his party which was dominated by Southern interests.[17] In 1847 Polk vetoed another appropriation bill. Again the Whig press burst forth in condemnation[18] and a resolution denouncing the President was adopted at the State convention of the Whig party.[19]

Soon after the veto of the harbor bill by Polk in 1846, a proposition was made by several papers in the lake region to hold a general convention of delegates from the States bordering on the Great Lakes. The purpose of this meeting was to give an expression of public feeling toward bills of the nature of the one vetoed by Polk and to take into consideration measures for the development of the resources of the West. At a meeting of western men in New York City in the fall of 1846, it was recommended that this convention should be held at Chicago on July 5, 1847.[20]

Though the holding of this convention was in a large degree the work of the Whig leaders, it was more than a mere partisan movement, for many Democrats

17. Marshall *Statesman*, October 13, 1846.
18. Detroit *Advertiser*, March 24, 1847; Hillsdale *Whig Standard*, March 23, 1847.
19. Detroit *Advertiser*, September 18, 1847.
20. Marshall *Statesman*, May 25, 1847.

attended. This movement was a protest of a considerable portion of the people of the Northwest against the action of a Democratic President who, they were certain, was hostile to an interest of great importance to them. And many of them firmly believed that his opposition was due to the influence of the Southern leaders and interests. Most of the Democrats who attended this convention were opponents of slavery and the extension of slave territory. Many of them and their constituents united with the Republican party in 1854. Furthermore the holding of this convention agitated the question of river and harbor improvements; it also awakened the people of Michigan and the Northwest generally to the need of these improvements and to the fact that their rivers and harbors had been neglected, as the Whigs would have them believe, because of the hostility of the Southern men. This convention therefore reflected the views of a large part of the people in this section on an important issue in the series of economic, moral and political issues which broke down the power of the Democratic party and permitted the rise and growth of the Republican party.

The editors of the Whig press were very enthusiastic over this convention and it was largely due to their efforts that it was finally held. A majority of the two hundred seventy-eight delegates from Michigan were Whigs. Eighteen counties were represented in the convention.[21] The western part of the State was best represented, Allegan County sending thirteen delegates,

21. *Ibid*, July 13, 1847.

Berrien fifty-two, Calhoun twenty-eight and Kent, Ionia and Ottawa eighty.

The same division in the Democratic party in Michigan which occurred at this time on the issues growing out of the Mexican War took place over the question of holding the convention at Chicago. The conservative Democrats in eastern Michigan, who supported Cass and the doctrine of popular sovereignty, were opposed to the holding of this convention. The Democrats in the western part of the State, who advocated the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, favored it. Thus the river and harbor improvement issue played a part in producing the factional struggle among Michigan Democrats in the forties which almost proved disastrous to the party.

The conservative Democrats in eastern Michigan objected to the convention at Chicago because they regarded it as a movement originated by the Whigs for political purposes. On June 1 at a meeting of the common council of Detroit, resolutions were introduced heartily approving of this convention, requesting the mayor to call a meeting for the purpose of appointing delegates, and urging the members of the council and the city officials to attend the convention. These resolutions were tabled however by the vote of the Democratic members who regarded them as being of a partisan nature.[22] General Cass said later that he had refused to attend this convention for two reasons: (1) He thought that such an assemblage for local purposes was useless; and (2) He was satisfied

22. Detroit *Free Press*, June 4, 1847.

that the convention was gotten up for the purpose of injuring President Polk and the Democratic party.[23]

It will be remembered that the western Democratic faction was organized when the people in that section felt that eastern Michigan was getting the lion's share of the internal improvements which the State was constructing. The western part of the State increased very rapidly in wealth and population in the forties. The people in this section needed better rivers and harbors and repeatedly appealed to Congress for appropriations. By 1847 the western Democrats had begun to feel that the United States Senators from Michigan who resided in the eastern part of the State were not properly representing their interests.[24] They were inclined to believe that there was a good foundation for the charge made by the Whigs that President Polk and General Cass were neglecting the interests of the West in order to secure the support of other sections, especially the South. Therefore the Democrats in western Michigan attended the convention at Chicago, planned by the Whigs largely for political purposes, and they united with the Whigs in the State Legislature in 1849 in order to prevent the re-election of General Cass to the United States Senate.

Some of the Democrats from western Michigan took an active part in the meeting.[25] The Kalamazoo *Gazette* and the Grand Rapids *Enquirer* gave this

23. Speech of General Cass on rivers and harbors, in the United States Senate, August 24, 1852. (Pamphlet).
24. Niles *Republican*, December 26, 1846, December 30, 1848; Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, January 13, 1847, January 17, 1849.
25. Marshall *Statesman*, July 13, 1847.

convention their approval and support. Commenting on the work of this convention, the latter paper declared that all candidates for office from Congressmen to President in the future would be called upon to state their views on internal improvements, and it ventured to say that no candidate for Congress from any section of the country could be elected who was "opposed to the improvement of harbors and the great Rivers of the West."[26] The western Democrats practically controlled the State convention in 1847. Their leader was nominated as the candidate for Governor and a resolution was adopted stating that "appropriations for Lake Harbor and River improvements are as much within the purview of the general government, as those of the Atlantic seaboard."[27]

During the presidential campaign of 1848 the Whigs made political capital out of Polk's vetoes and the attitude of General Cass toward the convention at Chicago. The Detroit *Advertiser* declared that Cass was an opponent of appropriations for the improvement of the rivers and harbors.[28] Woodbridge stated that there was uncertainty about the position of the General on this question because he did not approve of the convention.[29] He believed however that Taylor was in favor of such improvements.[30]

This issue gave the Democratic party trouble again in 1852. On August 21 Jefferson G. Thurber, a prominent Democrat, urged Senator Felch to obtain

26. Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, July 14, 1847.
27. Detroit *Free Press*, September 13, 1847.
28. Detroit *Advertiser*, June 24 and 28, 1848.
29. *Woodbridge Papers*, Vol. 138, p. 197.
30. *Ibid*, Vol. 138, p. 120.

the passage of the Harbor Appropriation Bill and to get an appropriation of $5,000 to repair the lighthouse at Monroe because these measures would have an influence on the election.[31] Writing from Niles after the election Thomas Fitzgerald said:[32] "We have had the hardest political contest in this county I have ever witnessed here or elsewhere. The Whigs contended for no principle except their favorite tariff, but relied upon misrepresenting the Democratic party in relation to harbor and river appropriations, and upon slandering and abusing our candidates from General Pierce down to the humblest with few exceptions."

The vetoes which proved most disastrous to the Democratic party occurred in the middle fifties. This was when President Pierce vetoed the bills appropriating money for the deepening of the flats of the St. Clair and St. Mary's rivers. The former river is the outlet of Lake Huron and flows into Lake St. Clair through a seven-branched delta known as the St. Clair Flats. The latter connects Lake Superior and Lake Huron.

The people of Michigan and the Northwest especially wanted the mouth of the St. Clair River deepened in order to prevent the delays and damages to vessels and commerce caused by the unnavigable condition of the flats. The need of this improvement will be seen if a few figures are given. According to the report of the Board of Trade of Buffalo early in 1855 the steamers carrying the commerce over the flats had a total tonnage of 28,649. There were also 284

31. *Felch Papers*, Vol. 833, p. 2.
32. *Ibid*, Vol. 833, p. 8.

sail vessels the total tonnage of which was 82,314. The committee of the board estimated that as a result of delays and damages during the season of 1854 the owners of the steam vessels paid out $208,000 and the owners of the sail vessels $452,125.56. The committee stated that this report only represented a portion of the damages sustained. "One million of dollars will not in the opinion of the committee cover the total damages sustained by the Western Lake Commerce in '54 from the unnavigable condition of the St. Clair Flats."[33]

During the session of Congress which met in December, 1854, a bill making appropriations for the improvement of these rivers passed both Houses.[34] In the Senate the bill was supported by General Cass,[35] but when it was sent to the President he killed it by means of a pocket veto.

This bill had been framed with direct reference to the views of President Pierce and when he did not sign it, the Democrats of Michigan were unanimous in their condemnation of his act. On April 4, 1855, the Detroit *Free Press* said: "The act of the President is damaging to the Democratic party we need not conceal. It is damaging so far as the Democratic party can be made responsible for it. In the utter repudiation of the act, however, by the Democratic press of the Northwest we have an utterance of Democratic sentiment that not only reveals the temper of the masses of the party, but points to what will be imperatively demanded in

33. Extracts from the report are quoted in the Detroit *Daily Democrat and Inquirer*, March 8, 1855.
34. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 612, 1155.
35. *Ibid*, p. 610.

the future. The *views on this question of the next Democratic nominee for President must be known.* The Northwest will go into the next Democratic national convention insisting that no such calamity shall overtake us as that which we have recently witnessed." The editor of the Grand Rapids *Weekly Enquirer* was equally bitter toward the President.[36] On March 16 the Kalamazoo *Gazette* made the following statement: "We must be permitted to assure the President and his advisors that they could do nothing to so effectually palsy our arms, and the arms of faithful Democrats all over the Northwest, as to arrest this appropriation bill.....

"The President must abandon such ground, or, so far as this question is concerned, the Democracy of the Northwest will abandon him. To attempt to sustain him would be to invite annihilation."

In the next session of Congress, bills making appropriations for the purpose of improving these rivers passed both Houses, but the President returned both bills to the Senate in May, 1856, without his approval.[37] He vetoed these bills because he did not believe that the Constitution gave the Federal Government the necessary power to construct works of this character. In regard to one of the measures he said that he could not find where the "proposed expenditure" of money was "needful and proper for the execution of some one or more of the powers expressly delegated to the general government."

On July 7 the Senate passed the St. Clair River

36. Grand Rapids *Weekly Enquirer*, March 11, 1855.
37. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 386-387.

Improvement Bill by a vote of 28 to 8 and the St. Mary's River Bill by 28 to 10.[38] On the following day these bills were taken up in the House. The vote on the former was 139 to 55 and on the latter 136 to 54.[39] Thus both bills having received the two-thirds vote of each House were passed over Pierce's veto.

The action of the President was denounced by the Democratic papers. On May 24 the *Free Press* said: "We remarked, in advance of having received the President's veto messages, that we were safe in pronouncing his reasons for withholding his assent to the proposed appropriations unworthy of a moment's consideration. They are so; they seem to us idle and absurd—we will not say puerile." The editor of the Niles *Republican* rejoiced at the passage of the bills over the President's veto.[40] The Grand Haven *Times* on the other hand expressed only a moderate disapproval.[41]

After a great deal of discussion in the State convention of 1856, the Democrats adopted the following resolution:[42] "That the President's veto of the bill for the improvement of the St. Clair Flats, and other bills similar in character and principle, is not in accordance with the sentiment and established policy of the Democratic party, and that, as representatives of the Democracy of Michigan, we disapprove of the position assumed by the National Executive in regard to improvements clearly national in character."

38. *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., Pt. II, p. 1550.
39. *Ibid*, pp. 1564, 1565.
40. Niles *Republican*, July 12, 1856.
41. Quoted in the Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, May 31, 1856.
42. *Michigan Argus*, May 30, 1856.

The Democrats of western Michigan believed in the forties that Polk neglected the interests of the Northwest because of the influence of leaders from other sections, particularly from the South; in the fifties this sectional jealousy was noticeable among all the Democrats of the State and was reflected in the press. After Pierce vetoed the bills in 1856, the *Michigan Argus* said:[43] "Had the bill appropriated the same amount for the improvement of some Cape Fear River, up which not a vessel sails once a month, it would have been signed, but expenditures upon the Lakes, up and down which float half the commerce of the nation are *clearly* unconstitutional..... This veto meets with nothing but unqualified condemnation from the Democracy of our State, and we might say of the whole Northwest." On this occasion, the *Free Press* declared:[44] "This is the last Presidential term, we trust, when a Democrat shall occupy the Presidential chair whose views of lake navigation improvement are not as broad as the country surrounding the great lakes of the Northwest."

The charge repeatedly asserted by the political opponents of the Democratic party, that the vetoes of the river and harbor improvement bills by the Democratic Presidents was due to the great influence in the national party of the Southern leaders who were opposed to the expenditure of money for such purposes, became more frequent after the vetoes of the bills by Pierce. At a mass convention of the Republicans in Oakland County in September, 1854, the following

43. *Ibid*, May 23, 1856.
44. Detroit *Free Press*, July 10, 1856.

resolution was adopted:[45] "*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the appropriation of money by the general government to improve the rivers and harbors of the West; and that the recent veto of a bill for that purpose by Franklin Pierce, and the approval thereof by the slave Democracy is another evidence of the iron rule of slavery and should be denounced by every northern Freeman." During the months of March and April, 1855, a leading Republican paper published ten articles entitled "Slavery and Sailors,"[46] for the purpose of showing that the Federal Government had given relatively little aid for the improvement of the rivers and harbors of the Northwest because of the hostility of the Southern politicians and because the Democratic members of Congress from the Northwest had not vigorously put forward the claims of their section in the face of this opposition. This was the most extended discussion of this matter which appeared in the papers. In the last article of the series, the writer said:[47]

"The Northwest, as has been declared and proved again and again by the policy of the South, can never hope so long at least as she is misrepresented as she has been in Congress, to receive either directly in the form of land grants or indirectly from that source by money from the treasury, any portion of that vast public domain, lying within her boundaries, for the benefit of her navigation interests, because it is those interests that mainly conduce to her speedy growth

45. Pontiac *Gazette*, September 16, 1854.
46. Detroit *Daily Democrat and Inquirer*. The ninth article appeared April 18, 1855.
47. *Ibid*, April 27, 1855.

and settlement, and because it is of that speedy growth and settlement, which slavery is jealous."

During the presidential campaign of 1856 the Republican papers declared that the opposition of the Democratic party to river and harbor appropriations had been shown by the vetoes.[48] The Democrats found it difficult to answer these charges satisfactorily and to dispel the doubt which such assertions raised in the minds of the voters. During the campaign there appeared a pamphlet entitled "The Freeman's Pamphlet; or Republicanism and locofocoism, their Measures and Policy," in which the writer gave his reasons for opposing the election of Buchanan. Discussing the plank in the Cincinnati platform approving the administration of President Pierce, he declared that Congress, in passing the appropriation bills over the President's veto, had repudiated the entire platform and the "lame attempt to bolster up the injurious administration of Mr. Pierce." This pamphlet was signed by over two hundred Democrats in Detroit.[49]

The improvement of the rivers and harbors of the lakes region continued to be an issue during Buchanan's administration. At the close of the short session of Congress, 1858-59, a bill appropriating $55,000 for deepening the channel over the St. Clair Flats was presented to President Buchanan for his signature. Instead of approving it, he waited until the next session and sent to Congress a long message stating

48. For examples see Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, June 26, 1856; Pontiac *Gazette*, July 19, 1856.

49. This was an address of the Democrats of Detroit to the Democrats of Michigan. The writer signed his name "A Young Democrat."

his reasons for not signing the appropriation bill. In the first place he maintained that the work for which this bill appropriated money had been done by a previous appropriation, and that the channel over the flats did not need deepening——only dredging, which he said would be inexpensive. He then attacked the measure on constitutional grounds, using about the same arguments as those put forth by Polk and Pierce. If Congress appropriated money for this project, he said, there would be a general demand for appropriations for unimportant improvements in all parts of the country. In closing he suggested that the Legislature of Michigan could easily raise the money to improve the flats by levying a small tonnage duty on vessels.[50]

As soon as it was known that Buchanan had not approved this appropriation bill, the press commented on his action. The *Free Press* denounced the Republican papers for trying to make political capital out of the veto. While the editor regretted the defeat of the measure, he maintained that its failure was due entirely to the depleted condition of the national treasury.[51] On the other hand the *Daily Tribune*, the radical organ at Detroit, was the spokesman for the Republican party. It said:[52] "As we have predicted, the President has vetoed the St. Clair Flats Bill. Thus it is, year after year, that the Democratic party sacrifices the commerce of the Northwest. It can squander millions on useless overland mail routes,

50. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 599-607. This message was dated Feb. 1, 1860.
51. Detroit *Free Press*, March 18, 1859.
52. Detroit *Daily Tribune*, March 8, 1859. The editor was in error when he gave the appropriation as $54,000.

it can squander thousands more upon its partisans, in machinery, printing, coal and live oak contracts, it can offer thirty millions for Cuba, but for the commerce of the great lakes, which floats yearly over $600,000,000 of exports, it denies even the pittance of $54,000, scarcely enough to preserve the works of former years, then left incomplete, from decay."

To recapitulate: The river and harbor improvement issue tended to disrupt the Democratic party and to create sectional animosity. This resulted not only from the disastrous effect of the attacks made on this party by its political opponents, but also from the lack of harmony among the Democrats themselves. Since Democratic Presidents vetoed several bills appropriating money for the improvement of the rivers and harbors of the lakes region and the members of Congress from the slaveholding States usually opposed these measures, the propagandists in the North used this issue as a means of agitating the slavery question. They made it appear that the vetoes were due to the malicious influence of the Southern leaders over the Democratic Presidents. The people of the Northwest, and of Michigan in particular, regarded the improvement of their waterways as essential for the rapid growth and expansion of this section. But, always looming up in connection with the slavery issue, this question assumed an importance which it probably would not have gained in any other way. As a result, the feeling between the Northwest and the South became more bitter. Furthermore this question was an issue between the Democratic factions in Michigan in the forties and between the Democrats of the Great

Lakes region and those in the slaveholding States in the next decade. Therefore the improvement of the inland waterways at the expense of the Federal Government in the ante-bellum period was important among the economic, political and moral issues which caused a divergence of viewpoint between the people of the Northwest and the South, led to a feeling of antagonism between the sections, split the national Democratic party and culminated in secession and Civil War.

CHAPTER XI

Growth of Dissatisfaction in the Republican Party, 1857-1858

THE dissatisfaction in the Republican party in Michigan in 1857 and 1858 was caused by the jealousy between the leaders of the Whig, Free Soil and Democratic groups in the party, by the suffering in the State in 1857, by the greater expenditure of money for public purposes and the consequent increase in the amount of taxes levied, and by dissappointments due to the inability of the party to supply all office seekers with offices.

As previously seen, the Republican party was composed of members of three parties who for years had been political opponents. These groups had little in common except their attachment to certain principles. In each group there were leaders who had done much for the cause of freedom and felt justified in seeking nomination to office as compensation. Since there were not enough offices to supply all at the same time, some had to wait. Many were disappointed, others disgruntled. The arranging of the order of succession to the important offices in and from the State so as to satisfy each of the three groups was a problem confronting the Republican party in its early years. The skill with which this problem was handled meant much to the young party,—perhaps success or defeat.

The rivalry between leaders was illustrated in the

election of the United States Senator in 1857. There were three prominent Republican candidates for this office. The Detroit *Tribune* supported Zachariah Chandler, the Detroit *Advertiser* put forward Jacob M. Howard, while many of the Republican papers in southern Michigan desired the nomination of Isaac P. Christiancy of Monroe.[1]

The Republican members of the Legislature held a party caucus in the hall of the House on January 8 for the purpose of deciding on a candidate for Senator. The majority of the Republicans were opposed to Chandler, but were not united on any one candidate. Howard was regarded as the choice of the State administration[2] while a prominent Democrat wrote from Lansing that "Chandler is strongly sustained here in the lobby by the commercial and lumber interests."[3] On the first informal ballot Chandler received 27 votes, Christiancy 17, Wisner 12, Blair 11, Howard 6, Coe 4, Bingham 3 and Campbell 1. Two more ballots were taken.[4] Though Chandler received a majority on the third ballot, further action was postponed until the following evening because his friends were "considerably afraid the minority may bolt."[5] At the postponed meeting, Christiancy and Wisner gave way and Chandler was nominated, having received the

1. The Hillsdale *Standard* on December 2, 1856, advocated the nomination of Christiancy.
2. Cornelius O'Flynn to Ross Wilkins, *Wilkins Papers*, Vol. 201, p. 105; Detroit *Free Press*, January 4 and 13, 1857. On the 4th this paper said: "One by one country papers are tumbling in against Chandler."
3. *Wilkins Papers*, Vol. 201, p. 105.
4. Detroit *Daily Tribune*, January 10, 1857.
5. *Wilkins Papers*, Vol. 201, p. 105.

votes of eighty members.[6] The selection of Chandler was a blow to the administration.[7] In the words of a leading Democrat, "The administration feel the rebuke keenly while the Chandler party are dominant. The Republican fire is hot yet awhile but when it cools, it cracks."[8] When the question came before the House, Chandler was nominated by a large vote and was elected without much opposition.[9]

The question of appeasing the leaders in the party was complicated by a sectional rivalry and a conflict between economic groups. Scarcely was the Republican party organized when friction arose between the leaders of the farming communities and the Detroit politicians over the extent to which each group should control the party. This was one of many instances where the hostile feeling between the country folks and the urban element found its way into ante-bellum politics. The farmers regarded themselves as the originators of the Republican party in 1854 and felt that since its triumph in the November election was due largely to them, their efforts demanded substantial recognition. Consequently they resented an undue influence being exercised in the party by certain leaders in Detroit. Writing to Governor Bingham in December, 1854, a leader of the agricultural element said:[10]

6. See above letter.
7. Detroit *Free Press*, January 13, 1857.
8. *Wilkins Papers*, Vol. 201, p. 105.
9. *House Journal* (1857), pp. 34-35, 37.
10. The discussion in the above paragraph is based on a letter from Henry Barns to Gov. Kinsley S. Bingham found in the Governor's office at Lansing. The bone of contention

"The present, or rather recent triumph, does not owe its origin, nor its accomplishment, to the shrewdness, tact nor labor of the 'Detroit politicians' to whom I allude—the 'eleventh hour' zealots, who came in to help at the last minute, because they dare not go any where else and now seek to absorb and direct the results. It has been in *spite of such* that the past campaign has been won, and, to make the triumph complete, it must be carried on and continued with only such courteous recognition of them as may be politic, to *lead them along* for a couple of years. Our strength is in *the country*, not in the city. It always will be from the settled character of the population."

The hardships which the people suffered in 1857 created a wide-spread dissatisfaction. The crops in 1856 had been very poor and the prices, even of the necessities of life, rose accordingly. Thus in the newly settled counties of northern Michigan, especially in Gratiot, Montcalm and Tuscola,[11] where the means of communication were poor and there was not much money even when the crops were very good, the people suffered a great deal in 1857. In some sections the cases of destitution reached the point of starvation. The newspapers gave considerable space to accounts of the terrible conditions in these counties and the suffering which the people underwent. On May 22 the *Michigan Argus* made the following observation:

10. *Con.* was the establishment of a paper at Lansing which should be the administration organ. This project was opposed by many leading Republicans in Detroit.

11. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, May 22, 1857; Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, May 22, 1857; Detroit *Free Press*, May 22, 1857; *Michigan Argus*, May 29, 1857; Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer and Herald*, May 30, 1857.

"Times tight, provisions high, money scarce, are the cries now all over the land. We read of suspensions, failures, bankruptcies, suffering, famine, etc., in almost every paper that reaches us. Our own state is not free from suffering. According to reliable accounts alarming destitution prevails in some of the northern counties. The crop of last year was a meagre one, and the severe winter and late spring has used up everything. In some sections we hear that cattle have lived on browse alone for months, and that the people are destitute of meats and have subsisted on course grains until course grains are exhausted, nothing being left for food or seed. This is reported to be the case in Gratiot, Tuscola, and adjoining counties. Instances even of death from starvation are cited." About the same time, the Port Huron *Observer* said:[12] "The East Saginaw *Enterprise* states that in some portions of Genesee and Tuscola, and probably Saginaw county also, there is much suffering for want of provisions. All kinds of provisions, except flour, are unusually high and very scarce throughout the northern regions. In the new settled townships, where most of the lands are but little improved, and the past season unfavorable, the supply of provisions is short, and few of the inhabitants are able to buy them at the present high prices. Instances of great suffering and almost starvation, in particular neighborhoods, are reported. In some cases property has been sacrificed at ruinous prices, and men have mortgaged their farms, to obtain the means for the support of their

12. Port Huron *Observer* quoted in Detroit *Free Press*, May 2, 1857.

families while those who have no such resources to draw upon must receive aid or suffer actual starvation."

When the news of this suffering reached the people of southern Michigan they responded generously. Public meetings were held in Detroit, Lansing, Grand Rapids, Ann Arbor and Jackson. Subscriptions were raised at these meetings and measures were taken to forward provisions for the relief of the destitute.[13]

In September, 1857, the panic struck the State. The Bank of Tecumseh failed[14] and in a short time the Peninsular Bank of Detroit was enjoined.[15] About the middle of October the Michigan Insurance Bank—the last to close its doors—ceased doing business.[16] The Kalamazoo *Gazette* said:[17]

"The crash that is now taking place in the business world is absolutely awful. Every day the press and the telegraph wires teem with accounts of broken banks and fallen business houses. It is dangerous to have a bank bill in hands over night; and the downfall of the best firms throughout the country is destroying confidence to such an extent that business in many places is almost entirely suspended. We would be glad to post our readers with the details if we could, but our sheet would be swamped, beyond recovery, should we attempt it."

Business houses also failed and a large number of

13. *Michigan Argus*, May 29, 1857; Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, June 2, 1857; Detroit *Free Press*, June 17, 1857; Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer and Herald*, May 30, 1857.
14. Detroit *Free Press*, September 17, 1857.
15. Niles *Republican*, October 3, 1857.
16. Kalamazoo *Gazette*, October 16, 1857.
17. *Ibid*, October 2, 1857.

men were thrown out of employment.[18] The following account written by the Detroit correspondent for the Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald* gives light on the situation in October. He wrote:[19] "Owing to the stagnation of business, the Michigan Central Railroad has discharged over five hundred of their employees; Jackson and Wiley have discharged over one hundred, the Detroit Locomotive works nearly as many, and the Detroit car manufactory have discharged all their men, and closed their works for the present. I hear of a large number of men who have been thrown out of employment from various other branches of business." About two months later, the same correspondent gave this additional information:[20] "Most of the large establishments have discharged their employees, by which a larger number of persons are thrown out of employment than at any former time. . . . The smaller mechanics have been compelled to reduce their force of operatives, and the merchants have cut down their force of clerks to the lowest possible number. At a low estimate there are five thousand persons out of employment in the city at the present time. What are they to do? Should they go

18. *Ibid*, October 2, 1857; Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, October 7 and 13, November 25, 1857; *History of St. Clair County* (1883), pp. 443-444.
19. Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, October 7, 1857.
20. *Ibid*, December 16, 1857. According to the Niles *Republican*, December 5, 1857, the price of wheat in Michigan was from 63 to 70 cents per bushel. Sixteen hundred pounds of flour was sold at Detroit, 100 lbs. at $3.75 and the remainder at $4.00 per hundred. Dressed hogs sold for $5.00. Butter was from 14 to 16 cents per lb. and eggs 13 to 14 cents per dozen.

into the country the farmers have no work for them, and they have no means to start on their own account." In October, it was reported that Michigan State stocks were selling for only sixty-two and one-half cents on the dollar.[21]

As a result of the hard times in 1857 an interesting development took place in the monetary system in the Upper Peninsula. The people in the mining districts began to use what was known as "iron money." The name of this currency is misleading, for it was not made of iron as its name signifies, but of paper. Because of the lack of gold and silver in the Upper Peninsula in 1857 the mining and other companies began to issue drafts in payment for labor and materials. These drafts soon became the common medium of exchange in the mining districts and continued in circulation and use until 1872 or 1874.[22]

The statement of the sales of land to pay the delinquent taxes and the large amount of taxes due from the counties also showed the effect of the financial crash. The amount of land advertised for sale for taxes of 1855 was $103,920.11[23] and for 1857, $187,502.46.[24] The total amount of tax sales for taxes of 1856, and unsold descriptions of previous years, was $43,434.68[25] and this increased to $65,769.48[26] in the following year.

The increase in the amount of taxes levied since the

21. Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, October 9, 1857.
22. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVII, 630.
23. *Joint Documents* (1856), Doc. No. 3, p. 12.
24. *Ibid* (1858), Doc. 4, p. 14.
25. *Ibid* (1857), Doc. 1, p. 14.
26. *Ibid* (1858), Doc. 4, p. 14.

Republicans had obtained control of the State government in 1854 aroused considerable displeasure among the taxpayers and gave the Democrats an opportunity to attack the administration. Both sides juggled figures for a purpose, making it difficult for the historian today to arrive at the truth. But certain general conclusions seem sound. The increase in taxation was not due entirely to extravagance as the Democrats said. From December 1854 to 1858 the total State debt had been reduced from $2,531,545.70 to $2,337,629.67.[27] In these four years, bonds to the amount of $344,836.83 had been cancelled[28] and in the first two years $123,518.02 interest on the State debt had been paid.[29] In the three years ending in November, 1857, the surplus fund had been reduced $394,313.65.[30] According to the State Treasurer, this diminution was due to the payment of a portion of the State debt, to the increased payment of the interest on the State bonds, and to the appropriations made by the State Legislature.[31]

The Democratic Legislature of 1853 had appropriated approximately $125,000.[32] The most important appropriations were for the following purposes: $25,000 for salaries of members and officers of the Legislature; $40,000 to defray the expenses of the government, of which $10,000 was to be used in 1853 and the remainder in

27. Governor's Message, January 1, 1859, *Joint Documents* (1858), Doc. 1, p. 6.
28. *Laws of Michigan* (1859), p. 1140.
29. *Ibid* (1857), p. 580.
30. *Ibid* (1858), pp. 226-227.
31. *Ibid* (1858), p. 227.
32. *Ibid* (1853), pp. 1, 11, 14, 118-121, 124, 168-169, 189.

1854; $23,000 for the asylums, $10,000 of which was for the following year; $5,000 for the erection of buildings at the State prison; $10,000 for the construction of public buildings; and $2,000 for the aid of the agricultural society in 1853 and 1854. In 1857 the Republican Legislature made appropriations to the amount of over $300,000.00.[33] It is interesting to compare these appropriations with those made in 1853. The following sums were appropriated: $32,000 for the completion of buildings at the State prison; $20,000 for the salaries of the members and officers of the Legislature; not over $7,000 for the house of correction; $62,500 for the asylums in 1857 and an equal amount for 1858; $40,000 for the Agricultural College; $50,000 for the improvement of the Muskegon River; $7,700 for the Normal School in 1857 and $6,000 in 1858; and $10,000 for the aid and relief of the immigrants in Kansas from Michigan. In addition four-tenths of a mill was levied on the taxable property for the expenses of the State government and the interest on the State debt, and $2,000 for the aid of the agricultural society, provided the society should raise an equal amount.[34] The salaries of the State officials were the same in 1855 and 1856 under the Republican administration as they had been under the Democratic rule in 1854, except that a clerk at a salary of $400 per year and a secretary at $500 had been added to the list.[35]

33. *Ibid* (1857), pp. 25, 32, 205, 216, 265-266, 385, 394, 475, 489, 490, 494-495.
34. *Ibid* (1857), pp. 403, 404.
35. Report of the Auditor General. *Joint Documents* (1855), Doc. 4, p. 11; (1856), Doc. 3, p. 9.

In his annual report for 1857 the State Treasurer mentioned the fact that the general fund had been overdrawn and was indebted to the several trust funds to the amount of $496,692.28. The payment of the semi-annual interest on the State debt and the regular disbursements, he stated, would reduce the surplus fund to about $75,000. He declared therefore that he would decline the payment of any further appropriations until provision was made to pay the same.[36] Since the financial embarrassment had diminished the revenue of the State and very little of the money collected by the county treasurers was paid into the State treasury, Governor Bingham in his message to the special session of the Legislature in 1858 stated that the Treasurer would be unable to meet the current expenses and the appropriations for the various State institutions, and to redeem the loans which fell due on or before January 1, 1859.[37] The Legislature accordingly authorized the Governor and Treasurer to contract loans to the amount of $216,000.[38]

The increase in the taxes and the large appropriations formed a basis for the attacks against the Republican administration by its political opponents. The hardships and suffering resulting from the crop failures and the financial crisis created such a gloomy state of mind and wide-spread dissatisfaction that a large number of the people were ready to believe these charges of misrule and extravagance and to support the Democratic candidates as the lesser of two evils.

36. *Laws of Michigan* (1858), pp. 232, 233.
37. *Joint Documents* (1858), Doc. 1, pp. 3-4.
38. *Laws of Michigan* (1858), pp. 17-20.

In March, 1857, the Democratic members of the Legislature in an address attacked the Republicans on the ground of great expenditure of money.[39] During the latter part of 1857 and throughout the following year, the Democratic press thundered forth its denunciation of Republican misrule and extravagance. The appropriation for the relief of the Michigan emigrants in Kansas was especially attacked because Governor Bingham had sent the money to an agent in Kansas who, it was said, had used it for political purposes.[40] On November 21, 1857, the Detroit *Free Press* said: "At the moment he sent it, there was no suffering in Kansas, *but there was suffering in Michigan. There were hundreds of our own citizens in the counties of Gratiot and Isabella with no other prospect before them than famine.*" On August 26 of the following year the Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer and Herald* made this comment on the resolutions adopted by the Republican State convention: "Certainly the 'best interests' of the people of Michigan were shamefully outraged and overridden by the bestowal of horse feed upon the lazy drunken varlets in Kansas, while honest minded, hard working farmers of Gratiot and Montcalm were made desolate because their hungry and half starved wives and children were reduced to beg for means to sustain life."

The empty treasury was also charged up to the party in power and figures were juggled so it appeared

39. *Michigan Argus*, March 13, 1857.
40. Detroit *Free Press*, September 13, 1857. This paper gives an indirect quotation from the *Herald of Freedom* at Lawrence, Kansas.

that the State debt had been increased.[41] These figures were used for all they were worth as political capital during the campaign of 1858. In the State convention, the Democratic party adopted the following resolution:[42]

"That the administration of our State affairs for the last four years meets with unqualified condemnation; that the money of the State has been squandered for partisan purposes; the taxes more than doubled; the treasury made bankrupt; that part of the State debt which should have been paid, renewed and continued for twenty years; the statute books filled with such crude and undigested legislation as to render null and void many important laws; the liberal grants of swamp and railroad lands by Congress endangered, if not lost, by a deliberate violation of the trusts and conditions upon which they were donated; and generally that the affairs of our State have been managed with such reckless extravagance, such criminal negligence, such utter disregard of good faith and credit of the State and the interest of the people, as to demand a complete change and thorough reform."

The Democrats nominated Senator Charles E. Stuart of Kalamazoo for Governor, while the Republicans placed Moses Wisner at the head of their ticket. The Detroit *Free Press* on September 14 made the following comment: "The ticket and the plat-

41. *Michigan Argus*, November 20, 1857; Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer and Herald*, January 22, February 3 and 6, 1858; Niles *Democratic Republican*, October 9, 1858.
42. *Michigan Argus*, September 10, 1858.

form have perfectly united the whole party, and have opened the doors of the Democratic church to thousands who have been waiting this very opportunity to enter and take up their abode and who have already commenced to enter and take up their abode."

In spite of the effort of the Republican press to refute[43] the charges of the Democrats, there was noticeable dissatisfaction in the party throughout the State. A large number of Republicans did not vote. There was a feeling among the voters that the party would be successful and this led to a general indifference to the election.[44] Furthermore, a great many office seekers had joined the Republican party in 1854 for the purpose of getting a share of the spoils. These were the henchmen of the Whig and Free Soil parties who, while advocating the broadest principles of equality with reference to the social institutions in the distant Southern States, urged the union of the anti-slavery elements purely for selfish purposes. By 1858 they found that there were not enough offices to supply all and consequently the disappointed ones deserted the Republican party.[45] The results of the election and a comparison with the returns in 1856 shows the extent of the disaffection.

The Republican candidate received 65,202 votes and the Democratic candidate 56,067, while at the

43. Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, September 9, 1858; Ann Arbor *Journal*, October 20, 1858; Detroit *Advertiser*, October 25, 1858.
44. Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, November 8, 1858; Detroit *Daily Tribune*, November 6, 1858.
45. Detroit *Free Press*, November 14, 1858; Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, November 8, 1858.

preceding election the former polled 71,402 votes and the latter 54,085.[46] The Democrats had gained 1,982 votes and the Republicans had lost 6,200. The Republican majority for Governor had fallen from 17,317 in 1856 to 9,135 in 1858, and the party also lost a proportionate number of votes on all the candidates on the ticket. In 1856 the Democrats carried the following counties: Grand Traverse, Houghton, Livingston, Marquette, Saginaw, and Wayne; and in 1858: Bay, Cass, Cheboygan, Emmet, Genesee, Grand Traverse, Houghton, Iosco, Livingston, Mackinac, Manistee, Manitou, Oceana, Ottawa, Saginaw and Wayne.[47] The majority of these counties were in northern Michigan and at this time they were in a frontier condition. Consequently they suffered a great deal from the economic crisis.

The Democrats elected their candidate for Congress in the first district by a small majority, whereas in 1856 the Republicans had elected the Congressmen in the four districts. In 1858 the latter party polled 842 votes less in the first district than in 1856; 1,954 less in the second; 3,449 in the third; and 2,724 in the fourth.[48] There were twenty-eight Republican and four Democratic members in the State Senate in 1856,[49] while in 1858 twenty-four Republicans and eight Democrats were elected.[50] In the former year the Democratic members were elected in the counties of Mackinac, St. Joseph and Wayne; in the latter year in Berrien,

46. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
47. Pontiac *Gazette*, December 13, 1856 and May 27, 1859.
48. Detroit *Free Press*, November 20, 1858.
49. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 10, 1856.
50. Detroit *Free Press*, November 14, 1858.

Livingston, Oakland, Ottawa, Washtenaw and Wayne. According to the lists in the newspapers, the Democratic party elected fifteen members in the House in 1856[51] and twenty-four in 1858.[52] In the latter year the Democratic members were distributed, seven in Wayne County, three in Oakland, two in St. Clair, two in Genesee, and one in each of Berrien, Grand Traverse, Livingston, Mackinac, Macomb, Manitou, Marquette, Monroe, Ontonagon and Ottawa.

To sum up: The suffering in certain counties and the economic crisis in 1857 caused dissatisfaction with the Republican administration. The increased taxation and greater expenditure of money was another cause of grievance. There was reaction against the Republicans and the party's majority was greatly reduced in 1858, and there was disaffection in the Republican party throughout the State.

51. Detroit *Advertiser*, November 10, 1856.
52. Detroit *Free Press*, November 14, 1858.

CHAPTER XII

Democratic Decline and Republican Advance, 1858-1860

IN the two years prior to the war some interesting events took place in Michigan politics. During this period the Republican party was united, due partly to the reaction which followed the disaffection in the party in 1857 and 1858 and partly to the fact that there was very little divergence of opinion among the Republicans on the issues before the people. The remnant of the Know-Nothing party, too conservative to unite with the Republicans, too bitter toward their old enemies, the Democrats, to form a coalition with them and eager to be of service in preserving the Union, organized on the eve of the war the Constitutional Union party in Michigan.

On the other hand, the issues in Federal politics which caused the disruption of the national Democratic party produced a similar split in the party in Michigan. The vast majority of the Democrats in the State, like most of the members of this party in the Northwest,[1] stood firmly upon the principle of popular sovereignty and followed in the footsteps of Douglas throughout this critical period in the party's history. There was

1. See copies of resolutions adopted at meetings in Chicago, Columbus and Indianapolis, and an extract from *Ohio Statesman*. Detroit *Advertiser*, December 23, 1857; Detroit *Free Press*, January 21, February 27 and March 2, 1858.

however a small group of ultra-conservatives in the party who had been foremost in the movement to save the Union in 1850 and now upheld the acts of the Buchanan administration. This faction supported the candidacy of Breckenridge for President in 1860.

The first split in the Democratic party in Michigan in the late fifties was over the Lecompton Constitution. This breach was confined chiefly to the Democrats in eastern Michigan. Complicated with the division in the party in this section over the issues in national politics was a very unfortunate quarrel of a personal character between the leaders. The foremost supporters of the administration were the Federal officials and their friends. Many of the leading followers of Douglas on the other hand, were bitter personal enemies of these office holders. Thus the split in the party was as much, and perhaps more, the result of this personal enmity between the leading Democrats as a difference of opinion on political issues.

As soon as President Buchanan, in his message in December, 1857, recommended the acceptance of the Lecompton Constitution should it be submitted to Congress,[2] the followers of Douglas who constituted by far the greater portion of the Democracy in eastern Michigan immediately attacked the President. Most of the editors of the Democratic papers declared that they could not support Buchanan on this issue. The *Michigan Argus* said:[3] "We hesitate not to say that the President holds opinions contrary to those cherished

2. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 453-454.
3. *Michigan Argus*, December 11, 1857.

by the mass of the Democratic party in the North and West. The question of slavery is not the only one in which the people of Kansas are interested and the organic law of the Territory, and the natural and inalienable rights, give the People—not a few of them in convention convened—the power to regulate their own domestic concerns and create their own institutions." The editor of the Detroit *Free Press* made a similar comment, saying:[4] "The 'domestic institutions' of the Kansas Act are all those institutions which are established by a State constitution—the legislature, the judiciary, the finance, the taxation, the education of the State—so understood by the great party which carried Mr. Buchanan into the Presidential chair.

"We give the President credit for all sincerity in the view he has taken but it is certainly not the view of the Democratic party."

The editor of the *Free Press* stated that he had either received letters from or conversed with prominent Democrats in fifteen counties, all of whom, he said, told him that they knew of no Democrat who did not condemn Buchanan's stand on the Kansas question.[5] Early in 1858 a resolution was adopted in the Legislature by an overwhelming majority, instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives in Congress "to oppose the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution[6] or any

4. Detroit *Free Press*, December 11, 1857.
5. *Ibid*, December 30, 1857.
6. *Laws of Michigan* (1858), p. 200. The vote in the State Senate on this resolution was 27 to 0 and in the House 56 to 14. *Senate Journal* (1858), p. 68; *House Journal* (1858), p. 138.

constitution maintaining slavery therein." At a meeting in Battle Creek a group of Democrats passed a resolution approving the opposition of Senator Stuart of Michigan and of Douglas to the Lecompton Constitution.[7]

Chief among the conservative Democrats, including the Federal office holders at Detroit and their friends, who supported the administration, were Cornelius O'Flynn, the postmaster at Detroit and editor of the Detroit *Herald*, and A. E. Gordon, editor of the Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer and Herald*. Through the columns of his paper, the latter said:[8] "The Lecompton Convention represents the actual settlers of Kansas, if the Territorial Legislature was the Legislature of Kansas. That Legislature, which has been recognized by Congress, by the Judiciary and by the President, authorized the Lecompton Convention. The Lecompton Convention was the creature of the Territorial Legislature and if the one was legal, so was the other. The members of the Lecompton Convention were elected by the actual settlers of Kansas. It is true that a mistaken and deluded faction in Kansas, who would rule or ruin, under the advice of Beecher, Greeley and company, did not vote. But their refusal to vote does not invalidate the legality of the Lecompton Convention." Gordon intimated that the members of the Lecompton Convention and not President Buchanan should be held responsible for the constitution; that the President was only fulfilling the

7. Detroit *Advertiser*, March 10, 1858.
8. Quoted in the Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, December 2, 1857.

duties of his office in recommending the constitution to Congress. On this point the editor said:[9]

"There is no doubt but that the President would have preferred that the whole constitution should have been submitted to the people. This has been his express wish and desire. It was no doubt his desire, as it was that of every patriotic man, that the Free State men of Kansas should go to the polls and vote for delegates to that Convention, but not having done so, the President was powerless to reverse their action. The Lecompton Convention did not see fit to submit the entire constitution to a vote of the people, how is the President to reverse this action?..... No doubt the President would have rejoiced had the constitution been submitted, and no doubt it is an unpleasant duty to sustain a convention which did not do its duty and its whole duty. But the President, so far as he is concerned, must sustain it."

On December 21, 1857, at a meeting held by the Democrats in Detroit, apparently the leaders of both factions were present. Two sets of resolutions appeared in print, one in the Detroit *Free Press* and the other in the Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*. The resolutions published in the *Free Press* approved Buchanan's administration, stated an intention of adhering to the doctrine of popular sovereignty and asserted that the whole constitution should have been submitted to the people of Kansas.[10] This paper stated that O'Flynn, the leading supporter of the administration, was present and tried to introduce

9. *Ibid*, December 3, 1857.
10. Detroit *Free Press*, December 23, 1857.

resolutions, but that he could not get a hearing because he had been a disturber in the party.[11] According to the account in the *Enquirer and Herald*, a roll signed by over seven hundred names was read and then officers of the meeting were chosen. Cornelius O'Flynn reported resolutions which were received with unbounded applause. These resolutions expressed "unabated confidence" in the administration and heartily approved the portion of the President's message which referred to the Lecompton Constitution. Though they would have preferred that the whole constitution had been submitted to the people of Kansas, those present adopted a resolution congratulating the people in that Territory on the opportunity to pass upon the "disturbing question of slavery." Feeling that the integrity of the Union depended upon the union of the Democratic party they deprecated any attempt to disorganize the party.[12]

The Democrats of Battle Creek met on February 28, 1858, for the purpose of nominating candidates on the ticket for the charter election. The meeting was dominated by the postmaster at Battle Creek and by the editor of the *Jeffersonian*, a paper which supported the administration. Resolutions endorsing the attitude of the administration toward the Lecompton Constitution were adopted and those approving the position of Douglas were laid on the table by a large majority.[13]

The leading Democrats in western Michigan were

11. *Ibid*, December 24, 1857.
12. Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, December 25, 1857.
13. Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, March 11, 1858.

at peace with each other and very few of them took a decided stand on the Kansas question. Therefore with the exception of the Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, most of them took no part in the contest in which the Democrats in the eastern part of the State were engaged. They looked on with disgust while the angry leaders in the east worked themselves into a frenzy and exhausted their ample supply of vituperative words on each other, and when the first passionate outburst had subsided some of the editors in the west stepped forth and tried to restore harmony in the party. Two of them stated that the Kansas question would soon be settled satisfactorily, and believed that this heated contest was useless and would lead to disastrous results, if not to a disruption of the party.[14] One remained neutral,[15] while another made an appeal for harmony and unity.[16] The editor of the *Cass County National Democrat* made a very pointed comparison when he said that unless they were prevented, the "hot-headed uneasy and unsatisfied would-be-leaders of Democracy in Detroit" would come out of the fight much like the "Kilkenny cats" who had been all "used up but their tails."[17]

Practically all the Democrats in Michigan regarded the passage of the English bill as a satisfactory settle-

14. Niles *Republican*, January 2, 1858; *Cass County National Democrat*, quoted in Detroit *Advertiser*, December 28, 1857.
15. *Western Chronicle*, December 23, 1858. Up to this time the paper had not mentioned this issue.
16. Battle Creek *Journal*, February 3, 1858, quoted in the Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer and Herald*, February 11, 1858.
17. Quoted in the Detroit *Advertiser*, December 28, 1857.

ment of the Kansas issue. They felt that both wings of the party could and should accept this measure as a settlement of the question which had disturbed the party, because neither side would have to renounce its principles.[18] The editor of the Detroit *Free Press* said:[19] "The Democratic party can reunite in this disposition of the Kansas question, and it will reunite if wise counsels and wise action prevail. It is a termination of the question, though there will be a desperate attempt by the opposition to prolong it in any possible shape."

Since 1858 was the year for the State election, the Democratic papers, with the exception of the Detroit *Herald*,[20] began to appeal for a restoration of harmony in the party.[21] The Jackson *Patriot* made the following comment:[22] "We care but little who the nominee may be provided he is acceptable to the *whole* Democracy of the State; and, on the contrary, any one who is in any degree obnoxious to any portion of the Democracy, ought not to be nominated, no matter who he may be, or what may have been his position heretofore."

The desire for a settlement of the disputes in the Democratic party was shown in the proceedings of some of the conventions and was expressed in the resolutions adopted in the conventions. The party

18. Detroit *Free Press*, April 10, 1858; Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, April 27, 1858; Adrian *Watchtower*, quoted in the Detroit *Advertiser*, May 3 and 5, 1858.
19. Detroit *Free Press*, May 1, 1858.
20. Quoted in the Detroit *Advertiser*, May 5, 1858.
21. Detroit *Free Press*, August 10, 1858; Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, August 19, 1858; Niles *Republican*, August 21, 1858.
22. Quoted in the Detroit *Advertiser*, August 6, 1858.

convention in the fourth congressional district met on July 28 and nominated as candidate for Congressman Robert W. Davis, a Douglas supporter who had been removed by the administration from the office of United States Marshal.[23] Resolutions very mild and conciliatory in tone were adopted.[24] On August 14 the Pontiac *Gazette*, a Republican paper, in giving an account of this convention stated that resolutions denouncing the administration and commending Douglas were introduced. Then the supporters of Buchanan presented resolutions opposite in tone. At this point a prominent Democrat made a motion that a committee of seven to draft resolutions should be appointed, and according to a prearranged plan, the chair appointed the members of the committee who submitted a platform "greased on both sides, so that it might not touch any living issue, keeping perfectly *mum* with regard to the Administration, and putting the new horseman, Bob, astride of two horses—the one earless, and the other with pretty long ears." At the convention in the third congressional district, the delegates passed resolutions promising that they would support the President and refusing to make the attitude toward the Lecompton Constitution a political test.[25]

There was nevertheless a difference of opinion among the leading Democrats as to the time when the State convention should be held. The *Free Press* wanted the convention to be held early in the summer, but

23. Hillsdale *Standard*, June 1, 1858.
24. Detroit *Free Press*, August 1, 1858.
25. Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, September 29, 1858.

most of the Democratic papers preferred a late convention in order that the Kansas issue might be settled and the bitter feeling which it had aroused might become less intense. The latter position was taken by the *Michigan Argus*, the Grand Rapids *Herald and Enquirer*, the Battle Creek *Jeffersonian*, the *Barry County Pioneer* and the *Cass County National Democrat*.[26] In regard to the attitude of the Democratic State Central Committee toward the calling of an early State convention, the leading Republican paper at Detroit stated that five members were opposed, two were in favor, one frightened, one afraid and one gone.[27]

The majority ruled in this matter and the Democratic State convention was not held until September 2. Delegates representing both factions had seats in the convention. The Douglas men were under the leadership of a very good tactician, John H. Harmon of Detroit. Senator Charles E. Stuart of Kalamazoo, an opponent of the Lecompton Constitution,[28] was nominated as the candidate for Governor. Those present adopted one resolution stating that they adhered to the doctrine of popular sovereignty and to the right of the people of the Territories to form and regulate their own institutions without any interference. The Lecompton Constitution was not mentioned. In another resolution, they declared that they had "confidence in the ability, integrity, and patriotism

26. Detroit *Advertiser*, April 24, 1858; *Michigan Argus*, April 23, 1858; Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer and Herald*, April 21 and June 6, 1858.
27. Detroit *Advertiser*, March 20, 1858.
28. New York *Evening Post*, December 19, 1857.

of the administration" and promised their "hearty support in all its measures for the maintenance of our glorious constitution and Union, and for the advancement of the prosperity and happiness of our whole country."[29]

The nomination of Stuart was satisfactory to the Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*[30] and to the Detroit *Herald*. The editor of the latter paper stated that since Stuart had publicly endorsed the administration and all its acts, he had expunged himself from all past opposition and for this reason the editor was disposed to extend to him all the confidence which he could "bestow under all circumstances of the case."[31]

The Republicans did not fail to make political capital out of this breach in the Democratic party. In the Republican county and State conventions, resolutions were adopted denouncing in severe terms the course of the administration with reference to the Kansas question, commending the Representatives in Congress from Michigan for their devotion to the principles of freedom, and expressing a determination to oppose the admission of any more slave States into the Union.[32] In regard to the action of the President, the Marshall *Statesman* said:[33] "By his recommendation of the passage of the Lecompton constitution he has violated the Pledge made by the convention which

29. *Michigan Argus*, September 10, 1858.
30. Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, September 4, 1858.
31. Quoted in the Detroit *Advertiser*, September 11, 1858.
32. *Ibid*, September 29, 1858; Ann Arbor *Journal*, August 18, 1858; Pontiac *Gazette*, August 28, 1858; Marshall *Statesman*, September 29, 1858.
33. Marshall *Statesman*, February 21, 1858.

nominated him. By his reckless violation of that pledge he has proved himself to be a double faced, treacherous and weakminded man." This paper extended a cordial invitation to all dissatisfied Democrats to join the Republican party.[34] In an editorial entitled "A Big Row about Kansas," another Republican made the following observation:[35]

"The fire eaters of the South are satisfied, it is true, such as Jeff. Davis and his satellites, but that usually docile beast, the northern Democracy is growling and grumbling and showing its ivory in the most ominous manner.....

"We are pleased to hear the northern Democracy roar, now and then, just to drown the snaps and snarls of the fire eaters down in the Carolinas and thereabouts. ... Northern Democrats are called dough faces but through the plastic dough on their faces they are showing a fearful array of tushes, which snap with savage emphasis."

In the November election Wisner, the Republican candidate for Governor, received 65,202 votes and Stuart, the Democrat, 56,067.[36] The Democrats elected their candidate for Representative in Congress from the first district, but the Republicans were victorious in the other three districts.[37]

The fact that the Democrats united with the Republicans in several cities in 1859 for the purpose of electing the city officers showed that the Democratic party was rather weak. The parties united in Hillsdale,

34. *Ibid*, March 11, 1858.
35. Pontiac *Gazette*, December 5, 1857.
36. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
37. Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, December 11, 1858.

in Mendon in St. Joseph County, and in Albion; in Jonesville there was no party ticket, and in Tecumseh a mixed ticket.[38] On March 14 the Detroit *Daily Tribune*, a Republican paper, said: "Wherever party lines are drawn the Republicans do well and are generally victorious, and in many places the Democrats are willing to accept any good ticket so thoroughly is the party disorganized."

The extent to which the Democratic party was disorganized by local quarrels was illustrated by the defeat in 1859 in the charter election in Detroit. The Republican candidate for mayor was Christian H. Buhl, a wealthy resident of the city. whose parents had emigrated from Saxony. Consequently he attracted the votes of a large number of German citizens.[39] This year the leading Democrats were engaged in a bitter dispute among themselves instead of giving strong and united support to their party ticket. Shoemaker, the collector at the port of Detroit and member of the Democratic State Central Committee, reported that O'Flynn, the postmaster, was misappropriating the Government funds, and made charges against Bagg, the United States Marshal. Bagg in turn made charges of gross misconduct against Shoemaker.[40] The editor of the *Free Press* did not, like other editors, take part in the quarrel and demand the removal of Shoemaker, even though the charges against him were injurious to the party.[41]

38. Detroit *Daily Tribune*, March 14, 1859.
39. See results of election. *Ibid*, November 9, 1859.
40. Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, July 24 and September 14, 1859.
41. Detroit *Free Press*, November 30, 1859.

The division in the National Democratic party in 1860 resulted in a complete split in the party in Michigan. The greater portion of the party and the press in the State which had supported Douglas in the struggle over the Lecompton Constitution followed him throughout 1860. On the other hand, the supporters of the Buchanan administration in 1857 and 1858 organized a Breckenridge party in the State in 1860.

The attitude of the vast majority of the Democrats toward the questions confronting the party in 1860 was shown by the action of the conventions and the editorials in the leading papers. In the convention of Calhoun County, resolutions were adopted affirming the adherence of those present to the principles embodied in the Cincinnati platform and declaring that the vitality of the government and the perpetuity of the Union were endangered when the administration deviated from those principles.[42] Resolutions of a similar purport were adopted by the conventions of the counties of Allegan, Berrien, Lapeer, Oakland, Ottawa and Shiawassee.[43] The editor of the *Western Chronicle* declared that only the adoption by the national convention of the principles set forth in the Cincinnati platform could save the party.[44] In regard to the national platform, the *Michigan Argus* said on January 13: "The platform must not contain any slave trade or slave code planks, must not adopt the

42. Marshall *Statesman*, February 29, 1860.
43. Niles *Democratic Republican*, February 18, 1860; Detroit *Free Press*, February 17, 1860.
44. *Western Chronicle*, May 10, 1860.

ridiculous assumption that the constitution carries slavery everywhere, and places it beyond the control of local government, it must not even squint at such doctrines, for if it does a millstone is tied to the Democracy of the Northwest."

The Democrats of Kent County held their convention in February. The chairman of the committee on resolutions offered one stating that the editor of the *Enquirer and Herald* had used the paper to promote his own views and not those of the Democrats of the county, and providing for the appointment of a committee to secure the establishment of a paper which would reflect the views of the people. The introduction of this resolution brought forth a good deal of discussion. Finally a compromise resolution was adopted which provided for the appointment of the members of a committee who should either purchase the interests of A. E. Gordon, the editor, or should adopt some other means of producing harmony in the party.[45] Gordon knew that the majority of the Democrats of Kent County supported Douglas, while he favored Breckenridge. Though he had on the last day of June promised to support the former candidate out of a sense of duty to the party,[46] he dissolved his connection with the paper in August[47] and his succsesor, E. D. Burr, made the *Enquirer and Herald* a live Douglas organ.

The Democrats held their State convention on June 28. On this occasion resolutions were adopted opposing

45. Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, February 20, 1860.
46. Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, June 30, 1860.
47. *Ibid*, August 16, 1860.

the doctrine of congressional intervention in the domestic affairs of the people in the Territories, approving the nomination of Douglas and Johnson and expressing regret that the Southern leaders had espoused the "Republican dogma of congressional intervention in the Territories." John S. Barry was nominated for Governor and William M. Fenton for Lieutenant Governor. Everything went smoothly in the convention until Richmond, a delegate from Kent County, offered a resolution approving both the foreign and domestic policy of the administration and recognizing the faithfulness of the President and the cabinet "to the constitution and the country." The reading of this resolution was greeted with hisses. In successive order, motions to lay the resolution on the table and to adjourn the meeting were made; whereupon Richmond demanded that his resolution should either be adopted or rejected. After some discussion the roll was called. When Richmond cast his vote, he stated that he did not believe the party should desert the administration and that he had always been and would continue to be a good Democrat. Several members said that they would be willing to commend the foreign but not the domestic policy of the administration. Murray of Wayne County declared that Douglas was no more fit to be President than was Benedict Arnold. Richmond's resolution was rejected by a vote of 140 to 6, every delegate present having cast a vote.[48]

Shortly after the meeting of the State convention some of the supporters of the Buchanan administration

48. *Michigan Argus*, July 6, 1860.

inaugurated a movement for the organization of a Breckenridge party in Michigan. On July 12 there appeared in the papers a circular issued at Detroit for a meeting of the friends of Breckenridge and Lane on the 24th.[49] At the appointed time about one hundred and fifty delegates assembled in Detroit, notable among whom were Cornelius O'Flynn, the former postmaster at Detroit; A. S. Bagg, United States Marshal; A. E. Gordon, editor of the Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*; A. W. Buel, a Representative in Congress in 1850 and a staunch supporter of the compromise measures; John Patton, an ex-mayor of Detroit; and Henry Ledyard, son-in-law of General Cass. A preamble and resolutions were adopted. In the former it was stated that the disruption of the party at Charleston was the result of a determination of the friends of Douglas to promote his interests. In one resolution those present expressed a regret that the disruption had occurred, and in another they promised their support to Breckenridge. O'Flynn offered a resolution approving the domestic and foreign policy of Buchanan's administration, which was adopted with only two dissenting votes. The members of a State Central Committee were appointed and a complete party organization was recommended. The delegates then adjourned to the home of General Cass who, it was said, favored this movement.[50] An address to the people of Michigan was issued[51] and the

49. Detroit *Weekly Tribune*, July 17, 1860.
50. Detroit *Advertiser*, July 25, 1860; Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, July 26 and 28, 1860.
51. Detroit *Advertiser*, August 4, 1860.

State Central Committee called for a meeting in Detroit on August 29 for the purpose of nominating presidential electors and of perfecting the organization of the party.[52] Apparently no report of this meeting was published in the papers.

In Oakland County a hand bill announced a meeting of the members of the Breckenridge party at Pontiac on September 27 for the purpose of nominating candidates for the county and district offices.[53] In the same month the supporters of Breckenridge in the first congressional district held a convention at Jackson and nominated John D. Conelly as candidate for Representative in Congress.[54]

As has been said, the remnant of the Know-Nothing party organized the Constitutional Union party in Michigan in 1860. The State convention was held on October 3, at which fifty-three delegates were present from fifteen counties. The purpose of this organization was expressed in the preamble, which declared that the agitation of the slavery question had given rise to sectional parties and had excluded from the legislative councils all other issues of national importance. Therefore no members were wanted in the Constitutional Union party who were blind to all other issues in Federal politics except the slavery question. Resolutions were adopted approving the nomination of Bell and Everett, making a pledge to the voters that "if successful" in the election, the "slavery question, so far as" these conservatives could prevent

52. Grand Rapids *Enquirer and Herald*, August 9, 1860.
53. Detroit *Weekly Tribune*, September 11, 1860.
54. *Michigan Argus*, September 21, 1860.

it should "no longer form the prominent issue in the elections or in the legislation of the country;" and expressing a hope that they could pass legislation which would aid the laboring class and that they could "stifle this spirit of fanaticism and intolerance which finds expression upon the slavery question, and which can never in any event bestow a drop of water or a crumb of bread, even if millions were dying of thirst and hunger." They resolved not to nominate any candidates for the State offices.[55]

The Democrats worked hard to secure for Douglas a majority of the votes in Michigan. Douglas clubs were organized throughout the State.[56] In October Douglas came to Michigan where great crowds greeted him at each stop. He was in Detroit on October[57] 15, later at Ann Arbor, Jackson, Marshall,[58] Kalamazoo[59] and Niles.[60] A German speaker was sent into the Saginaw Valley to address the Germans in Saginaw and Bay counties.[61]

The Republicans aroused a great deal of enthusiasm in the campaign. The candidacy of Lincoln proved to be a vote winner for the party in Michigan. The confidence which most of the Republicans in the State placed in Lincoln was reflected in an extract from a letter written during the campaign in which the writer

55. Detroit *Free Press*, October 6, 1860.
56. *Michigan Argus*, August 3, 1860; Pontiac *Gazette*, August 3, 1860.
57. Detroit *Free Press*, October 16, 1860.
58. *Ibid*, October 18, 1860.
59. *Michigan Argus*, October 19, 1860; Willis, *Life of Douglas*, pp. 322-323.
60. Niles *Democratic Republican*, October 20, 1860.
61. East Saginaw *Courier*, October 18, 1860.

says:[62] "I verily believe we have a stronger ticket before the people than we should have had with Seward at the head of it, though I have a high respect for him as a statesman and for his sound Republican principles. But I have no doubt of consequences with Lincoln at the helm—if he did first learn the art of steerage on a flat boat."

Lincoln Wide Awake clubs were organized throughout the State and in several places glee clubs were formed.[63] Campaign literature consisting of speeches, reports and party platforms was published at the *Tribune* office and the Republicans were urged to distribute it.[64] During the month of August, Governor Chase of Ohio came to Michigan. On the 15th he addressed a large crowd at Pontiac both in the afternoon and evening. In the evening there was a long procession by the Wide Awakes, several bands being present to furnish the music.[65] On the 17th he spoke at Ypsilanti. At this place there was also a procession and the Peninsular Glee Club provided the music.[66] The greatest meeting of the campaign was when Seward spoke at Detroit on September 4. People came from all parts of the State. At noon there was a parade about a mile and a half in length in which twenty squads of Wide Awakes each headed by a band, several

62. John S. Porter to Frederick Porter on June 10, 1860, *Porter Manuscripts*. In the possession of Miss May Porter of Detroit.
63. Detroit *Weekly Tribune*, June 19, 1860; Marshall *Statesman*, August 15, 1860; Pontiac *Gazette*, September 21, 1860; Hillsdale *Standard*, October 16, 1860.
64. Detroit *Weekly Tribune*, August 7, 1860.
65. Pontiac *Gazette*, August 17, 1860.
66. Ann Arbor *Journal*, August 22, 1860.

"Today the young men of the United States are for the first time on the side of freedom against slavery. Go on then and do your work. Put this great cause into the keeping of your great, honest, worthy leader, Abraham Lincoln. Believe me sincere, when I say that if it had devolved upon me to select from all the men in the United States a man to whom I should confide the standard of this cause—which is the object for which I have lived and labored, and for which I would be willing to die—that man would have been Abraham Lincoln."

In November with the exception of Houghton and Marquette counties from which there were no returns, Lincoln received 87,457 votes; Douglas 66,163; Breckenridge 805 from twenty-eight counties which cast votes; and Bell 373 from twenty-one counties.[72] In this election 87,806 votes were cast for Blair, the Republican candidate for Governor, and 67,221 for Barry, the Democrat.[73] The Democrats elected only two members of the State Senate and ten Representatives. The two Senators were elected one each from the counties of Bay and Ontonagon, while there was one Representative each from Bay, Chippewa, Houghton, Mackinac, Macomb, Monroe, Washtenaw, and Wayne, and two from Oakland.[74] The Republicans elected the four Representatives in Congress.

72. Detroit *Advertiser*, December 31, 1860.
73. *Michigan Manual* (1913), p. 422.
74. Detroit *Free Press*, November 13, 1860.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

State Constitution of 1835.

In Convention, begun at the city of Detroit, on the second Monday of May, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five:

We, the people of the Territory of Michigan, as established by the act of Congress of the eleventh of January, eighteen hundred and five, in conformity to the fifth article of the ordinance providing for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, believing that the time has arrived when our present political condition ought to cease and the right of self-government be asserted, and availing ourselves of the aforesaid ordinance of the Congress of the United States of the thirteenth day of July, seventeen hundred and eighty-seven, and the acts of Congress passed in accordance therewith, which entitled us to admission into the Union upon a condition which has been fulfilled, do, by our delegates in convention assembled, mutually agree to form ourselves into a free and independent state, by the style and title of "The State of Michigan," and do ordain and establish the following constitution for the government of the same:

Article I

1. All political power is inherent in the people.
2. Government is instituted for the protection, security, and benefit of the people; and they have the right at all times to alter or reform the same, and to abolish one form of government and establish another, whenever the public good requires it.
3. No man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate privileges.
4. Every person has a right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience; and no person can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support, against his will, any place of religious worship, or pay any tithes, taxes, or other rates, for the support of any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion.
5. No money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of religious societies, or theological or religious seminaries.

6. The civil and religious rights, privileges, and capacities of no individual shall be diminished or enlarged on account of his opinions or belief concerning matters of religion.

7. Every person may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all prosecutions or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

8. The person, houses, papers and possessions of every individual shall be secure from unreasonable searches and seizures; and no warrant to search any place, or to seize any person or things, shall issue without describing them, nor without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation.

9. The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

10. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the vicinage; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; to have the assistance of counsel for his defence; and in all civil cases in which personal liberty may be involved the trial by jury shall not be refused.

11. No person shall be held to answer for a criminal offence, unless on the presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases of impeachment, or in cases cognizable by justices of the peace, or arising in the army or militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger.

12. No person for the same offence shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment; all persons shall, before conviction, be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offences when the proof is evident or the presumption great; and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

13. Every person has a right to bear arms for defence of himself and the state.

14. The military shall, in all cases, and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power.

15. No soldier shall in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner prescribed by law.

16. Treason against the state shall consist only in levying

war against it, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort; no person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

17. No bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, shall be passed.

18. Excessive bail shall not be required; excessive fines shall not be imposed; and cruel and unjust punishments shall not be inflicted.

19. The property of no person shall be taken for public use without just compensation therefor.

20. The people shall have the right freely to assemble together, to consult for the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the legislature for redress of grievances.

21. All acts of the legislature contrary to this or any other article of this constitution, shall be void.

Article II

ELECTORS

1. In all elections, every white male citizen above the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the state six months next preceding any election, shall be entitled to vote at such election; and every white male inhabitant of the age aforesaid who may be a resident of this State at the time of the signing of this constitution shall have the right of voting as aforesaid; but no such citizen or inhabitant shall be entitled to vote except in the district, county, or township, in which he shall actually reside at the time of such election.

2. All votes shall be given by ballot, except for such township officers as may, by law, be directed to be otherwise chosen.

3. Electors shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at elections, and in going to and returning from the same.

4. No elector shall be obliged to do military duty on the days of elections, except in time of war or public danger.

5. No person shall be deemed to have lost his residence in this state by reason of his absence on business of the United States or of this state.

6. No soldier, seaman, or marine, in the army or navy of the United States, shall be deemed a resident of this state in consequence of being stationed in any military or naval place within the same.

ARTICLE III

DIVISION OF THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT

1. The powers of the government shall be divided into three distinct departments: the legislative, the executive, and the judicial; and one department shall never exercise the powers of another, except in such cases as are expressly provided for in this constitution.

ARTICLE IV

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

1. The legislative power shall be vested in a senate and house of representatives.

2. The number of the members of the house of representatives shall never be less than forty-eight, nor more than one hundred; and the senate shall at all times equal in number one-third of the house of representatives, as nearly as may be.

3. The legislature shall provide by law for an enumeration of the inhabitants of this state in the years eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, and eighteen hundred and forty-five, and every ten years after the said last mentioned time; and at their first session after each enumeration so made as aforesaid, and also after each enumeration made by the authority of the United States, the legislature shall apportion anew the representatives and senators among the several counties and districts according to the number of white inhabitants.

4. The representatives shall be chosen annually on the first Monday of November, and on the following day, by the electors of the several counties or districts into which the state shall be divided for that purpose. Each organized county shall be entitled to at least one representative; but no county hereafter organized shall be entitled to a separate representative until it shall have attained a population equal to the ratio of representation hereafter established.

5. The senators shall be chosen for two years, at the same time and in the same manner as the representatives are required to be chosen. At the first session of the legislature under this constitution, they shall be divided by lot from their respective districts, as nearly as may be, into two equal classes; the seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the first year, and of the second class at the expiration of the second year, so that one-half thereof, as nearly as may be, shall be chosen annually thereafter.

6. The state shall be divided at each new apportionment into a number of not less than four, nor more than eight, senatorial districts, to be always composed of contiguous territory, so that each district shall elect an equal number of senators annually, as nearly as may be; and no county shall be divided in the formation of such districts.

7. Senators and representatives shall be citizens of the United States, and be qualified electors in the respective counties and districts which they represent; and a removal from their respective counties or districts shall be deemed a vacation of their seats.

8. No person holding any office under the United States, or of this state—officers of the militia, justices of the peace, associate judges of the circuit and county courts, and postmasters, excepted—shall be eligible to either house of the legislature.

9. Senators and representatives shall, in all cases except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest, nor shall they be subject to any civil process, during the session of the legislature, nor for fifteen days next before the commencement and after the termination of each session.

10. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide. Each house shall choose its own officers.

11. Each house shall determine the rules of its proceedings, and judge of the qualifications, elections and returns of its own members; and may, with the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members elected, expel a member; but no member shall be expelled a second time for the same cause, nor for any cause known to his constituents antecedent to his election.

12. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings and publish the same, except such parts as may require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall at the request of one-fifth of the members present be entered on the journal. Any member of either house shall have liberty to dissent from and protest against any act or resolution which he may think injurious to the public or an individual, and have the reasons of this dissent entered on the journal.

13. In all elections by either or both houses, the votes shall be given *viva voce;* and all votes on nominations made to the senate shall be taken by yeas and nays, and published with the journal of its proceedings.

14. The doors of each house shall be open, except when the

public welfare shall require secrecy; neither house shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that where the legislature may then be in session.

15. Any bill may originate in either house of the legislature.

16. Every bill passed by the legislature shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the governor; if he approves, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large upon their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of all the members present agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, with the objections, to the other house, by whom it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved also by two-thirds of all the members present in that house, it shall become a law; but in such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the members voting for or against the bill shall be entered on the journals of each house respectively: And if any bill be not returned by the governor within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it has been presented to him, the same shall become a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislature by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not become a law.

17. Every resolution to which the concurrence of the senate and the house of representatives may be necessary, except in cases of adjournment, shall be presented to the governor, and, before the same shall take effect, shall be proceeded upon in the same manner as in the case of a bill.

18. The members of the legislature shall receive for their services a compensation to be ascertained by law and paid out of the public treasury; but no increase of the compensation shall take effect during the term for which the members of either house shall have been elected; and such compensation shall never exceed three dollars a day.

19. No member of the legislature shall receive any civil appointment from the governor and senate, or from the legislature, during the term for which he is elected.

20. The governor shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies as may occur in the senate and house of representatives.

21. The legislature shall meet on the first Monday in January in every year, and at no other period, unless otherwise directed by law, or provided for in this constitution.

22. The style of the laws of this state shall be—*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan.*

ARTICLE V

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

1. The supreme power shall be vested in a governor, who shall hold his office for two years; and a lieutenant governor shall be chosen at the same time and for the same term.

2. No person shall be eligible to the office of governor or lieutenant governor who shall not have been five years a citizen of the United States, and a resident of this state two years next preceding the election.

3. The governor and lieutenant governor shall be elected by the electors at the times and places of choosing members of the legislature. The persons having the highest number of votes for governor and lieutenant governor shall be elected; but in case two or more have an equal and the highest number of votes for governor or lieutenant governor, the legislature shall by joint vote choose one of the said persons so having an equal and the highest number of votes for governor or lieutenant governor.

4. The returns of every election for governor and lieutenant governor shall be sealed up and transmitted to the seat of government by the returning officers, directed to the president of the senate, who shall open and publish them in the presence of the members of both houses.

5. The governor shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, and of the army and navy of this state.

6. He shall transact all executive business with the officers of government, civil and military; and may require information, in writing, from the officers in the executive department, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

7. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

8. He shall have power to convene the legislature on extraordinary occasions. He shall communicate by message to the legislature, at every session, the condition of the state, and recommend such matters to them as he shall deem expedient.

9. He shall have power to adjourn the legislature to such time as he may think proper, in case of a disagreement between the two houses with respect to the time of adjournment, but not to a period beyond the next annual meeting.

10. He may direct the legislature to meet at some other place than the seat of government, if that shall become, after its adjournment, dangerous from a common enemy or a contagious disease.

11. He shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons after conviction, except in cases of impeachment.

12. When any office, the appointment to which is vested in the

governor and senate, or in the legislature, becomes vacant during the recess of the legislature, the governor shall have power to fill such vacancy by granting a commission, which shall expire at the end of the succeeding session of the legislature.

13. In case of the impeachment of the governor, his removal from office, death, resignation, or absence from the state, the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the lieutenant governor until such disability shall cease, or the vacancy be filled.

14. If during the vacancy of the office of governor the lieutenant governor shall be impeached, displaced, resign, die, or be absent from the state, the president of the senate pro tempore shall act as governor, until the vacancy be filled.

15. The lieutenant governor shall by virtue of his office be president of the senate; in committee of the whole he may debate on all questions; and when there is an equal division he shall give the casting vote.

16. No member of congress, nor any other person holding office under the United States, or this state, shall execute the office of governor.

17. Whenever the office of governor or lieutenant governor becomes vacant, the person exercising the powers of governor for the time being shall give notice thereof, and the electors shall, at the next succeeding annual election for members of the legislature, choose a person to fill such vacancy.

18. The governor shall at stated times receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the term for which he has been elected.

19. The lieutenant governor, except when acting as governor, and the president of the senate pro tempore, shall each receive the same compensation as shall be allowed to the speaker of the house of representatives.

20. A great seal for the state shall be provided by the governor, which shall contain the device and inscriptions represented and described in the papers relating thereto, signed by the president of the convention, and deposited in the office of the secretary of the territory. It shall be kept by the secretary of state; and all official acts of the governor, his approbation of the laws excepted, shall be thereby authenticated.

21. All grants and commissions shall be in the name, and by the authority, of the people of the state of Michigan.

ARTICLE VI

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

1. The judicial power shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such other courts as the legislature may from time to time establish.

2. The judges of the supreme court shall hold their offices for the term of seven years; they shall be nominated, and with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed by the governor. They shall receive an adequate compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. But they shall receive no fees nor perquisites of office, nor hold any other office of profit or trust under the authority of this state, or of the United States.

3. A court of probate shall be established in each of the organized counties.

4. Judges of all county courts, associate judges of circuit courts, and judges of probate, shall be elected by the qualified electors of the county in which they reside, and shall hold their offices for four years.

5. The supreme court shall appoint their clerk or clerks; and the electors of each county shall elect a clerk, to be denominated a county clerk, who shall hold his office for the term of two years and shall perform the duties of clerk to all the courts of record to be held in each county, except the supreme court and court of probate.

6. Each township may elect four justices of the peace, who shall hold their offices for four years, and whose powers and duties shall be defined and regulated by law. At their first election they shall be classed and divided by lot into numbers one, two, three, and four, to be determined in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, so that one justice shall be annually elected in each township thereafter. A removal of any justice from the township in which he was elected, shall vacate his office. In all incorporated towns, or cities, it shall be competent for the legislature to increase the number of justices.

7. The style of all process shall be, "*In the name of the People of the State of Michigan*;" and all indictment shall conclude, "*against the peace and dignity of the same.*"

ARTICLE VII

CERTAIN STATE AND COUNTY OFFICERS

1. There shall be a secretary of state, who shall hold his office for two years, and who shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. He shall keep a fair record of the official acts of the legislature and executive departments of the government; and shall, when required, lay the same, and all matters relative thereto, before either branch of the legislature; and shall perform such other duties as shall be assigned him by law.

2. A state treasurer shall be appointed by a joint vote of the two houses of the legislature, and shall hold his office for the term of two years.

3. There shall be an auditor general and an attorney general for the state, and a prosecuting attorney for each of the respective counties, who shall hold their offices for two years, and who shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and whose powers and duties shall be prescribed by law.

4. There shall be a sheriff, a county treasurer, and one or more coroners, a register of deeds, and a county surveyor, chosen by the electors in each of the several counties once in every two years, and as often as vacancies shall happen. The sheriff shall hold no other office, and shall not be capable of holding the office of sheriff longer than four in any term of six years; he may be required by law to renew his security from time to time, and in default of giving such security his office shall be deemed vacant; but the county shall never be made responsible for the acts of the sheriff.

ARTICLE VIII

IMPEACHMENTS AND REMOVALS FROM OFFICE

1. The house of representatives shall have the sole power of impeaching all civil officers of the state for corrupt conduct in office, or for crimes and misdemeanors; but a majority of all the members elected shall be necessary to direct an impeachment.

2. All impeachments shall be tried by the senate. When the governor or lieutenant governor shall be tried, the chief justice of the supreme court shall preside. Before the trial of an impeachment, the members of the court shall take an oath of affirmation truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in

question according to the evidence; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, but the party convicted shall be liable to indictment and punishment according to law.

3. For any reasonable cause which shall not be sufficient ground for the impeachment of the judges of any of the courts, the governor shall remove any of them on the address of two-thirds of each branch of the legislature; but the cause or causes for which such removal may be required shall be stated at length in the address.

4. The legislature shall provide by law for the removal of justices of the peace and other county and township officers in such manner and for such cause as to them shall seem just and proper.

Article IX

MILITIA

1. The legislature shall provide by law for organizing and disciplining the militia, in such manner as they shall deem expedient, not incompatible with the constitution and laws of the United States.

2. The legislature shall provide for the efficient discipline of the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and musicians, and may provide by law for the organization and discipline of volunteer companies.

3. Officers of the militia shall be elected or appointed in such manner as the legislature shall from time to time direct, and shall be commissioned by the governor.

4. The governor shall have power to call forth the militia, to execute the laws of the state, to suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

Article X

EDUCATION

1. The governor shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the legislature, in joint vote, shall appoint a superintendent of public instruction, who shall hold his office for two years, and whose duties shall be prescribed by law.

2. The legislature shall encourage, by all suitable means, the promotion of intellectual, scientifical, and agricultural im-

provement. The proceeds of all lands that have been or hereafter may be granted by the United States to this state for the support of schools, which shall hereafter be sold or disposed of, shall be and remain a perpetual fund, the interest of which, together with the rents of all such unsold lands, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of schools throughout the state.

3. The legislature shall provide for a system of common schools, by which a school shall be kept up and supported in each school district, at least three months in every year; and any school district neglecting to keep up and support such a school, may be deprived of its equal proportion of the interest of the public fund.

4. As soon as the circumstances of the state will permit, the legislature shall provide for the establishment of libraries, one at least in each township; and the money which shall be paid by persons as an equivalent for exemption from military duty, and the clear proceeds of all fines assessed in the several counties for any breach of the penal laws, shall be conclusively applied to the support of said libraries.

5. The legislature shall take measures for the protection, improvement, or other disposition of such lands as have been or may hereafter be reserved or granted by the United States to this state for the support of a university; and the funds accruing from the rents or sale of such lands, or from any other source for the purpose aforesaid, shall be and remain a permanent fund for the support of said university, with such branches as the public convenience may hereafter demand for the promotion of literature, the arts and sciences, and as may be authorized by the terms of such grant; and it shall be the duty of the legislature, as soon as may be, to provide effectual means for the improvement and permanent security of the funds of said university.

ARTICLE XI

PROHIBITION OF SLAVERY

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever be introduced into this state, except for the punishment of crimes of which the party shall have been duly convicted.

Article XII

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

1. Members of the legislature, and all officers, executive and judicial, except such inferior officers as may by law be exempted, shall, before they enter on the duties of their respective offices, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will support the constitution of the United States, and the constitution of this state, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of ——————according to the best of my ability." And no other oath, declaration, or test, shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust.

2. The legislature shall pass no act of incorporation unless with the assent of at least two-thirds of each house.

3. Internal improvement shall be encouraged by the government of this state; and it shall be the duty of the legislature, as soon as may be, to make provision by law for ascertaining the proper objects of improvement in relation to roads, canals, and navigable waters; and it shall also be their duty to provide by law for an equal, systematic, economical application of the funds which may be appropriated to these objects.

4. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and an accurate statement of the receipts and expenditures of the public money shall be attached to and published with the laws annually.

5. Divorces shall not be granted by the legislature; but the legislature may by law authorize the higher courts to grant them, under such restrictions as they may deem expedient.

6. No lottery shall be authorized by this state, nor shall the sale of lottery tickets be allowed.

7. No county now organized by law shall ever be reduced, by the organization of new counties, to less than four hundred square miles.

8. The governor, secretary of state, treasurer, and auditor general shall keep their offices at the seat of government.

9. The seat of government for this state shall be at Detroit, or at such other place or places as may be prescribed by law, until the year eighteen hundred and forty-seven, when it shall be permanently located by the legislature.

10. The first governor and lieutenant governor shall hold their offices until the first Monday of January eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, and until others shall be elected and qualified;

and thereafter they shall hold their offices for two years, and until their successors shall be elected and qualified.

11. When a vacancy shall happen, occasioned by the death, resignation or removal from office of any person holding office under this state, the successor thereto shall hold his office for the period which his predecessor had to serve, and no longer, unless again chosen or reappointed.

ARTICLE XIII

MODE OF AMENDING AND REVISING THE CONSTITUTION

1. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the senate or house of representatives; and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members elected to each of the two houses, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on their journals, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to the legislature then next to be chosen; and shall be published for three months previous to the time of making such choice; and if in the legislature next chosen as aforesaid, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, then it shall be the duty of the legislature to submit such proposed amendment or amendments to the people in such manner and at such time as the legislature shall prescribe; and if the people shall approve and ratify such amendment or amendments, by a majority of the electors qualified to vote for members of the legislature voting thereon, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the constitution.

2. And if at any time two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives shall think it necessary to revise or change this entire constitution, they shall recommend to the electors at the next election for members of the legislature, to vote for or against a convention; and if it shall appear that a majority of the electors voting at such election have voted in favor of calling a convention, the legislature shall at its next session provide by law for calling a convention, to be held within six months after the passage of such law; and such convention shall consist of a number of members not less than that of both branches of the legislature.

SCHEDULE

1. That no inconvenience may arise from a change of the territorial government to a permanent state government, it is

declared that all writs, actions, prosecutions, contracts, claims and rights of individuals and of bodies corporate shall continue as if no change had taken place in this government; and all process which may before the organization of the judicial department under this constitution be issued under the authority of the territory of Michigan, shall be as valid as if issued in the name of the state.

2. All laws now in force in the territory of Michigan which are not repugnant to this constitution shall remain in force until they expire by their own limitations or be altered or repealed by the legislature.

3. All fines, penalties, forfeitures and escheats, accruing to the territory of Michigan shall accrue to the use of the state.

4. All recognizances heretofore taken, or which may be taken before the organization of the judicial department under this constitution, shall remain valid, and shall pass over to and may be prosecuted in the name of the state. And all bonds executed to the governor of this territory, or to any other officer in his official capacity, shall pass over to the governor or other proper state authority, and to their successors in office, for the uses therein respectively expressed, and may be sued for and recovered accordingly. All criminal prosecutions and penal actions which have arisen, or which may arise before the organization of the judicial department under this constitution, and which shall then be depending, may be prosecuted to judgment and execution in the name of the state.

5. All officers, civil and military, now holding their offices and appointments in this territory under the authority of the United States, or under the authority of this territory, shall continue to hold and exercise their respective offices and appointments until superseded under this constitution.

6. The first election for governor, lieutenant governor, members of the state legislature, and a representative in the congress of the United States, shall be held on the first Monday in October next, and on the succeeding day. And the president of the convention shall issue writs to the sheriffs of the several counties or districts, or, in case of vacancy, to the coroners, requiring them to cause such election to be held on the days aforesaid, in their respective counties or districts. The election shall be conducted in the manner prescribed, and by the township officers designated as inspectors of elections, and the returns made as required by the existing laws of the territory, or by this constitution: *Provided, however*, That the returns of the several townships in the district composed of the unorganized counties of Ottawa, Ionia,

Kent and Clinton, shall be made to the clerk of the township of Kent in said district, and the said township clerk shall perform the same duties as by the existing laws of the territory devolve upon the clerks of the several counties in similar cases.

7. The first meeting of the legislature shall be at the city of Detroit, on the first Monday in November next, with power to adjourn to any other place.

8. All county and township officers shall continue to hold their respective offices, unless removed by the competent authority, until the legislature shall, in conformity to the provisions of this constitution, provide for the holding of elections to fill such offices respectively.

9. This constitution shall be submitted at the election to be held on the first Monday in October next, and on the succeeding day, for ratification or rejection, to the electors qualified by this constitution to vote at all elections; and if the same be ratified by the said electors, the same shall become the constitution of the state of Michigan. At the election aforesaid, on such of the ballots as are for the said constitution, shall be written or printed the word "yes," and on those which are against the ratification of said constitution, the word "no." And the returns of the votes on the question of ratification or rejection of said constitution shall be made to the president of this convention at any time before the first Monday in November next, and a digest of the same communicated by him to the senate and house of representatives on that day.

10. And if this constitution shall be ratified by the people of Michigan, the president of this convention shall, immediately after the same shall be ascertained, cause a fair copy thereof, together with an authenticated copy of the act of the legislative council entitled "An act to enable the people of Michigan to form a constitution and state government," approved January 26, 1835, providing for the calling of this convention, and also a copy of so much of the last census of this territory as exhibits the number of the free inhabitants of that part thereof which is comprised within the limits in said constitution defined as the boundaries of the proposed state of Michigan, to be forwarded to the president of the United States, together with an expression of the decided opinion of this convention that the number of the free inhabitants of said proposed state now exceeds the number requisite to constitute two congressional districts, and the respectful request of this convention, in behalf of the people of Michigan, that all said matters may be by him laid before the congress of the United States at their next session.

11. In case of the failure of the president of this convention to perform the duties prescribed by this constitution by reason of his absence, death, or from any other cause, said duties shall be performed by the secretaries of this convention.

12. Until the first enumeration shall be made as directed by this constitution, the county of Wayne shall be entitled to eight representatives; the county of Monroe to four representatives; the county of Washtenaw to seven representatives; the county of St. Clair to one representative; the county of St. Joseph to two representatives; the county of Berrien to one representative; the county of Calhoun to one representative; the county of Jackson to one representative; the county of Cass to two represenatatives; the county of Oakland to six representatives; the county of Macomb to three representatives; the county of Lenawee to four representatives; the county of Kalamazoo, and the unorganized counties of Allegan and Barry to two representatives; the county of Branch to one representative; the county of Hillsdale to one representative; the county of Lapeer to one representative; the county of Saginaw, and the unorganized counties of Genesee and Shiawassee to one representative; the county of Michilimackinac to one representative; the county of Chippewa to one representative; and the unorganized counties of Ottawa, Kent, Ionia and Clinton to one representative.

And for the election of senators, the state shall be divided into five districts, and the apportionment shall be as follows: The county of Wayne shall compose the first district, and elect three senators; the counties of Monroe and Lenawee shall compose the second district, and elect three senators; the counties of Hillsdale, Branch, St Joseph, Cass, Berrien, Kalamazoo and Calhoun shall compose the third district, and elect three senators; the counties of Washtenaw and Jackson shall compose the fourth district, and elect three senators; and the counties of Oakland, Lapeer, Saginaw, Macomb, St. Clair, Michilimackinac and Chippewa shall compose the fifth district, and elect four senators.

Any country attached to any county for judicial purposes, if not otherwise represented, shall be considered as forming part of such county, so far as regards elections for the purpose of representation in the legislature.

An Act to admit the state of Michigan into the Union, upon an equal footing with the original states.

Whereas, in pursuance of the act of congress of June the

fifteenth, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, entitled "An act to establish the northern boundary of the state of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of the state of Michigan into the union upon the conditions therein expressed," a convention of delegates, elected by the people of the said state of Michigan, for the sole purpose of giving their assent to the boundaries of the said state of Michigan, as described, declared, and established in and by the said act, did on the fifteenth of December, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, assent to the provisions of said act, therefore:

SECTION I

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the state of Michigan shall be one, and is hereby declared to be one, of the United States of America, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever.

SECTION II

And be it further enacted, That the secretary of the treasury, in carrying into effect the thirteenth and fourteenth sections of the act of the twenty-third of June, eighteen hundred and thirty-six, entitled "An act to regulate the deposits of the public money," shall consider the state of Michigan as being one of the United States.

Assent of the State of Michigan, to the act of congress of June 15, 1836, given in convention at Ann Arbor, on the 15th day of December, 1836.

Whereas, By an act of congress of June fifteenth, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, the constitution and state government which the people of Michigan have formed for themselves, is accepted, ratified and confirmed: And whereas, the admission of the state of Michigan into the union as one of the United States, is provided by the said act to be upon the express condition that the said state shall consist of and have jurisdiction over all the territory included within the following boundaries, and over none other, to wit: "Beginning at the point where the described northern boundary of the state of Ohio intersects the eastern boundary of the state of Indiana, and running thence with the said boundary line of Ohio as described in the first section of the said act, until it intersects the boundary line between the United States and Canada in Lake Erie; thence with the said boundary line between the United States and Canada, through the Detroit river, Lake Huron and Lake Superior, to a point where the said

line last touches Lake Superior; thence in a direct line through Lake Superior to the mouth of the Montreal river; thence through the middle of the main channel of the said Montreal river, to the middle of the Lake of the Desert; thence in a direct line to the head waters of the Menomonie river; thence through the middle of that fork of the said river, first touched by the said line, to the main channel of the said Menomonie river; thence down the centre of the main channel of the same, to the centre of the most usual ship channel of the Green Bay of Lake Michigan; thence through the centre of the most usual ship channel of the same bay, to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence through the middle of Lake Michigan to the northern boundary of the state of Indiana to the north-east corner thereof; and thence south with the east boundary line of Indiana to the place of beginning."

And whereas, no authority or power is designated in said act of congress, by which such convention shall be called or convened; but in the third section of said act, the right of the people of Michigan to elect said delegates, without any previous action of their constituted authorities, is clearly recognized and manifest: And whereas, the convention originated with, and speaks the voice of a great majority of the people of Michigan; and whereas, it is provided and enacted in the said act, that as soon as the assent therein required shall be given, the president of the United States shall announce the same by proclamation, and thereupon, and without any further proceedings on the part of congress, the admission of the said state into the union, as one of the United States of America, on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever, shall be considered complete.

Now, therefore, this convention are of the opinion, that the congress of the United States had no constitutional right to require the assent aforesaid, as a condition preliminary to the admission of the state into the union.

Nevertheless, as the congress have required such assent to the condition, and as the interests and prosperity of the state will be greatly advanced by our immediate admission into the Union, as one of its sovereign states; and the people of the said state, are solicitous to give to her sister states, and to the world, unequivocal proof of her desire to promote the tranquility and harmony of the confederacy, and to perpetuate the unity, liberty, and prosperity of the country;

Therefore, be it

Resolved, By the people of Michigan in convention assembled, that the assent required in the foregoing recited act of the congress of the United States, is hereby given.

An act to establish the northern boundary line of the state of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of the state of Michigan into the union, upon the conditions therein expressed.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the northern boundary line of the state of Ohio shall be established at, and shall be a direct line drawn from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, to the most northerly cape of the Maumee (Miami) bay, after that line, so drawn, shall intersect the eastern boundary line of the state of Indiana and from the said north cape of the said bay, north-east to the boundary line between the United States and the province of Upper Canada, in Lake Erie; and thence, with the said last mentioned line to its intersection with the western line of the state of Pennsylvania.

SECTION II

And be it further enacted, That the constitution and state government which the people of Michigan have formed for themselves be, and the same is hereby, accepted, ratified, and confirmed; and that the said state of Michigan shall be, and is hereby, declared to be one of the United States of America, and is hereby admitted into the union upon an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatsoever: Provided always, and this admission is upon the express condition, That the said state shall consist of and have jurisdiction over all the territory included within the following boundaries, and over none other, to wit: Beginning at the point where the above described northern boundary of the state of Ohio intersects the eastern boundary of the state of Indiana, and running thence with the said boundary line of Ohio, as described in the first section of this act, until it intersects the boundary line between the United States and Canada, in Lake Erie; thence, with the said boundary line between the United States and Canada, through the Detroit river, Lake Huron and Lake Superior, to a point where the said line last touches Lake Superior; thence in a direct line through Lake Superior to the mouth of the Montreal river; thence, through the middle of the main channel of the said river Montreal, to the Lake of the Desert; thence, in a direct line, to the nearest head water of the Menomonie river; thence through the middle of that fork of the said river first touched by the said line, to the main channel of the said Menomonie; thence, down the centre of the main channel of the same, to the centre of the most usual ship channel of the Green Bay of Lake Michigan;

thence through the centre of the most usual ship channel of the said bay, to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence through the middle of Lake Michigan to the northern boundary of the state of Indiana, as that was established by the act of congress of the nineteenth of April, eighteen hundred and sixteen; thence, due east, with the north boundary line of the said state of Indiana, to the north-east corner thereof; and thence, south, with the east boundary line of Indiana, to the place of beginning.

SECTION III

And be it further enacted, That as a compliance with the fundamental condition of admission contained in the last preceding section of this act, the boundaries of the said state of Michigan, as in that section described, declared, and established, shall receive the assent of a convention of delegates elected by the people of the said state, for the sole purpose of giving the assent herein required; and as soon as the assent herein required shall be given, the president of the United States shall announce the same by proclamation; and thereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of congress, the admission of the said state into the Union, as one of the United States of America, on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever, shall be considered as complete, and the senators and representatives who have been elected by the said state as its representative in the congress of the United States, shall be entitled to take their seats in the senate and house of representatives respectively, without further delay.

SECTION IV

And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained, or in the admission of the said state into the Union as one of the United States of America, upon an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever, shall be so construed or understood as to confer upon the people, legislature or other authorities of the said state of Michigan, any authority or right to interfere with the sale by the United States, and under their authority, of the vacant and unsold lands within the limits of the said state; but that the subject of the public lands, and the interests which may be given to the said state therein, shall be regulated by future action between congress, on the part of the United States and the said state, or the authorities thereof; and the said state of Michigan shall in no case, and under no pretence whatsoever, impose any tax, assessment, or imposition of any description, upon any of the lands of the United States within its limits.

REVISED CONSTITUTION, 1850

The People of the State of Michigan do ordain this Constitution

ARTICLE I

BOUNDARIES

The State of Michigan consists of and has jurisdiction over the territory embraced within the following boundaries, to wit: Commencing at a point on the eastern boundary line of the State of Indiana, where a direct line drawn from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of the Maumee Bay, shall intersect the same—said point being the north-west corner of the State of Ohio, as established by act of Congress, entitled "an act to establish the northern boundary line of the State of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of the State of Michigan into the Union upon the conditions therein expressed," approved June fifteenth, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six; thence with the said boundary line of the State of Ohio, till it intersects the boundary line between the United States and Canada, in Lake Erie; thence with said boundary line between the United States and Canada, through the Detroit river, Lake Huron and Lake Superior, to a point where the said line last touches Lake Superior; thence in a direct line through Lake Superior to the mouth of the Montreal river; thence through the middle of the main channel of the said river Montreal to the head waters thereof; thence in a direct line to the centre of the channel between Middle and South Islands, in the Lake of the Desert; thence in a direct line to the southern shore of Lake Brule; thence along said southern shore and down the river Brule to the main channel of the Menominie river; thence down the centre of the main channel of the same to the centre of the most usual ship channel of the Green Bay of Lake Michigan; thence through the centre of the most usual ship channel of the said Bay, to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence through the middle of Lake Michigan to the northern boundary of the State of Indiana, as that line was established by the act of Congress of the nineteenth of April, eighteen hundred and sixteen; thence due east with the

north boundary line of the said State of Indiana to the north-east corner thereof; and thence south with the eastern boundary line of Indiana to the place of beginning.

ARTICLE II

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

Sec. 1. The seat of government shall be in Lansing, where it is now established.

ARTICLE III

DIVISION OF THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT

Sec. 1. The powers of Government are divided into three departments: the legislative, executive and judicial.

Sec. 2. No person belonging to one department shall exercise powers properly belonging to another, except in the cases expressly provided in this constitution.

ARTICLE IV

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

Section 1. The legislative power is vested in a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The Senate shall consist of thirty-two members. Senators shall be elected for two years, and by single districts. Such districts shall be numbered from one to thirty-two inclusive; each of which shall choose one Senator. No county shall be divided in the formation of senate districts, except such county shall be equitably entitled to two or more Senators.

Sec. 3. The House of Representatives shall consist of not less than sixty-four, nor more than one hundred members. Representatives shall be chosen for two years, and by single districts. Each representative district shall contain, as nearly as may be, an equal number of white inhabitants, and civilized persons of Indian descent not members of any tribe, and shall consist of convenient and contiguous territory. But no township or city shall be divided in the formation of a representative district. When any township or city shall contain a population which entitles it to more than one Representative, then such township or city shall elect by general ticket the number of Representatives to which it is entitled. Each county hereafter organized, with

such territory as may be attached thereto, shall be entitled to a separate Representative when it has attained a population equal to a moiety of the ratio of representation. In every county entitled to more than one Representative, the board of supervisors shall assemble at such time and place as the Legislature shall prescribe, and divide the same into representative districts, equal to the number of Representatives to which such county is entitled by law, and shall cause to be filed in the offices of Secretary of State and clerk of such county, a description of such representative districts, specifying the number of each district, and the population thereof, according to the last preceding enumeration.

Sec. 4. The Legislature shall provide by law for an enumeration of the inhabitants in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-four, and every ten years thereafter; and at the first session after each enumeration so made, and also at the first session after each enumeration by the authority of the United States, the Legislature shall re-arrange the Senate districts, and apportion anew the Representatives among the counties and districts, according to the number of white inhabitants and civilized persons of Indian descent, not members of any tribe. Each apportionment, and the division into representative districts by any board of supervisors, shall remain unaltered until the return of another enumeration.

Sec. 5. Senators and Representatives shall be citizens of the United States, and qualified electors in the respective counties and districts which they represent. A removal from their respective counties or districts shall be deemed a vacation of their office.

Sec. 6. No person holding any office under the United States [or this State], or any county office, except notaries public, officers of the militia, and officers elected by townships, shall be eligible to or have a seat in either house of the Legislature; and all votes given for any such person shall be void.

Sec. 7. Senators and Representatives shall, in all cases except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest. They shall not be subject to any civil process during the session of the Legislature, or for fifteen days next before the commencement and after the termination of each session; they shall not be questioned in any other place for any speech in either house.

Sec. 8. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may prescribe.

Sec. 9. Each house shall choose its own officers, determine the rules of its proceedings, and judge of the qualifications, election

and returns of its members; and may, with the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members elected, expel a member. No member shall be expelled a second time for the same cause; nor for any cause known to his constituents antecedent to his election; the reason for such expulsion shall be entered upon the journal, with the names of the members voting on the question.

Sec. 10. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and publish the same, except such parts as may require secrecy. The yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall be entered on the journal at the request of one-fifth of the members elected. Any member of either house may dissent from and protest against any act, proceeding or resolution which he may deem injurious to any person or the public, and have the reason of his dissent entered on the journal.

Sec. 11. In all elections by either house, or in joint convention, the votes shall be given *viva voce*. All votes on nominations to the Senate shall be taken by yeas and nays, and published with the journal of its proceedings.

Sec. 12. The doors of each house shall be open, unless the public welfare require secrecy. Neither house shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than where the Legislature may then be in session.

Sec. 13. Bills may originate in either house of the Legislature.

Sec. 14. Every bill and concurrent resolution, except of adjournment, passed by the Legislature, shall be presented to the Governor before it becomes a law. If he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections to the house in which it originated, which shall enter the objections at large upon their journal, and reconsider it. On such reconsideration, if two-thirds of the members elected agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent with the objections to the other house, by which it shall be reconsidered. If approved by two-thirds of the members elected to that house, it shall become a law. In such case, the vote of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the members voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journals of each house respectively. If any bill be not returned by the Governor within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it has been presented to him, the same shall become a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Legislature, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not become a law. The Governor may approve, sign, and file in the office of the Secretary of State, within five days after the adjournment of the Legislature, any act passed during the last five days of the session; and the same shall become a law.

Sec. 15. The compensation of the members of the Legislature

shall be three dollars a day for actual attendance and when absent on account of sickness, for the first sixty days of the session of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, and for the first forty days of every subsequent session, and nothing thereafter. When convened in extra session their compensation shall be three dollars a day for the first twenty days, and nothing thereafter; and they shall legislate on no other subjects than those expressly stated in the Governor's proclamation, or submitted to them by special message. They shall be entitled to ten cents, and no more for every mile actually traveled, going to and returning from the place of meeting, on the usually traveled route; and for stationery and newspapers not exceeding five dollars for each member during any session. Each member shall be entitled to one copy of the laws, journals and documents of the Legislature of which he was a member; but shall not receive, at the expense of the State, books, newspapers, or other perquisites of office, not expressly authorized by this constitution.

Sec. 16. The Legislature may provide by law for the payment of postage on all mailable matter received by its members and officers during the sessions of the Legislature, but not on any sent or mailed by them.

Sec. 17. The President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall be entitled to the same per diem compensation and mileage as members of the Legislature, and no more.

Sec. 18. No person elected a member of the legislature shall receive any civil appointment within this State, or to the Senate of the United States, from the Governor, the Governor and Senate, from the Legislature, or any other State authority, during the term for which he is elected. All such appointments, and all votes given for any person so elected for any such office or appointment, shall be void. No member of the Legislature shall be interested, directly or indirectly, in any contract with the State, or any county thereof, authorized by any law passed during the time for which he is elected, nor for one year thereafter.

Sec. 19. Every bill and joint resolution shall be read three times in each house before the final passage thereof. No bill or joint resolution shall become a law without the concurrence of a majority of all the members elected to each house. On the final passage of all bills the vote shall be by ayes and nays, and entered on the journal.

Sec. 20. No law shall embrace more than one object, which shall be expressed in its title. No public act shall take effect or be in force until the expiration of ninety days from the end of the session at which the same is passed, unless the Legislature shall

otherwise direct, by a two-thirds vote of the members elected to each house.

Sec. 21. The Legislature shall not grant nor authorize extra compensation to any public officer, agent or contractor, after the service has been rendered or the contract entered into.

Sec. 22. The Legislature shall provide by law that the furnishing of fuel and stationery for the use of the State, the printing and binding the laws and journals, all blanks, paper and printing for the executive departments, and all other printing ordered by the Legislature, shall be let by contract to the lowest bidder or bidders, who shall give adequate and satisfactory security for the performance thereof. The Legislature shall prescribe by law the manner in which the State printing shall be executed,and the accounts rendered therefor; and shall prohibit all charges for constructive labor. They shall not rescind nor alter such contract, nor release the person nor persons taking the same, or his or their sureties, from the performance of any of the conditions of the contract. No member of the Legislature nor officer of the State shall be interested directly or indirectly in any such contract.

Sec. 23. The Legislature shall not authorize, by private or special law, the sale or conveyance of any real estate belonging to any person; nor vacate nor alter any road laid out by commissioners of highways, or any street in any city or village, or in any recorded town plat.

Sec. 24. The Legislature may authorize the employment of a chaplain for the State Prison; but no money shall be appropriated for the payment of any religious services in either house of the Legislature.

Sec. 25. No law shall be revised, altered or amended by reference to its title only; but the act revised, and the section or sections of the act altered or amended shall be re-enacted and published at length.

Sec. 26. Divorces shall not be granted by the Legislature.

Sec. 27. The Legislature shall not authorize any lottery, nor permit the sale of lottery tickets.

Sec. 28. No new bill shall be introduced into either house during the last three days of the session, without the unanimous consent of the house in which it originates.

Sec. 29. In case of a contested election, the person only shall receive from the State per diem compensation and mileage who is declared to be entitled to a seat by the house in which the contest takes place.

Sec. 30. No collector, holder nor disburser of public moneys, shall have a seat in the Legislature or be eligible to any office of

trust or profit under this State, until he shall have accounted for and paid over, as provided by law, all sums for which he may be liable.

Sec. 31. The Legislature shall not audit nor allow any private claim or account.

Sec. 32. The Legislature, on the day of final adjournment, shall adjourn at twelve o'clock at noon.

Sec. 33. The Legislature shall meet at the seat of government on the first Wednesday in February next, and on the first Wednesday in January of every second year thereafter, and at no other place or time, unless as provided in this constitution.

Sec. 34. The election of Senators and Representatives, pursuant to the provisions of this constitution, shall be held on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday of November in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, and on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday of November of every second year thereafter.

Sec. 35. The Legislature shall not establish a State Paper. Every newspaper in the State which shall publish all the general laws of any session within forty days of their passage, shall be entitled to receive a sum not exceeding fifteen dollars therefor.

Sec. 36. The Legislature shall provide for the speedy publication of all statute laws of a public nature, and of such judicial decisions as it may deem expedient. All laws and judicial decisions shall be free for publication by any person.

Sec. 37. The Legislature may declare the cases in which any office shall be deemed vacant, and also the manner of filling the vacancy, where no provision is made for that purpose in this constitution.

Sec. 38. The Legislature may confer upon organized townships, incorporated cities and villages, and upon the board of supervisors of the several counties, such powers of a local, legislative and administrative character as they may deem proper.

Sec. 39. The Legislature shall pass no law to prevent any person from worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience; or to compel any person to attend, erect or support any place of religious worship, or to pay tithes, taxes or other rates for the support of any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion.

Sec. 40. No money shall be appropriated or drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious sect or society, theological or religious seminary; nor shall property belonging to the State be appropriated for any such purposes.

Sec. 41. The Legislature shall not diminish or enlarge the civil

or political rights, privileges and capacities of any person, on account of his opinion or belief concerning matters of religion.

Sec. 42. No law shall ever be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press; but every person may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of such right.

Sec. 43. The Legislature shall pass no bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts.

Sec. 44. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus remains, and shall not be suspended by the Legislature, except in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety require it.

Sec. 45. The assent of two-thirds of the members elected to each house of the Legislature shall be requisite to every bill appropriating the public money or property for local or private purposes.

Sec. 46. The Legislature may authorize a trial by jury of a less number than twelve men.

Sec. 47. The Legislature shall not pass any act authorizing the grant of license for the sale of ardent spirits or other intoxicating liquors.

Sec. 48. The style of the laws shall be: "The People of the State of Michigan enact."

ARTICLE V

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Sec. 1. The executive power is vested in a Governor, who shall hold his office for two years. A Lieutenant Governor shall be chosen for the same term.

Sec. 2. No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor or Lieutenant Governor who has not been five years a citizen of the United States, and a resident of this State two years next preceding his election; nor shall any person be eligible to either office who has not attained the age of thirty years.

Sec. 3. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall be elected at the times and places of choosing the members of the Legislature. The person having the highest number of votes for Governor or Lieutenant Governor shall be elected. In case two or more persons shall have an equal and the highest number of votes for Governor or Lieutenant Governor, the Legislature shall, by joint vote, choose one of such persons.

Sec. 4. The Governor shall be commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces; and may call out such forces to execute the laws, to suppress insurrections and to repel invasion.

Sec. 5. He shall transact all necessary business with officers of government, and may require information, in writing, from the officers of the executive department upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

Sec. 6. He shall take care that the laws be carefully executed.

Sec. 7. He may convene the Legislature on extraordinary occasions.

Sec. 8. He shall give to the Legislature, and at the close of his official term to the next Legislature, information by message, of the condition of the State, and recommend such measures to them as he shall deem expedient.

Sec. 9. He may convene the Legislature at some other place, when the seat of government becomes dangerous from disease or a common enemy.

Sec. 10. He shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies as occur in the Senate or House of Representatives.

Sec. 11. He may grant reprieves, commutations and pardons, after convictions, for all offences except treason and cases of impeachment, upon such conditions and with such restrictions and limitations as he may think proper, subject to regulations provided by law, relative to the manner of applying for pardons. Upon conviction for treason, he may suspend the execution of the sentence until the case shall be reported to the Legislature at its next session, when the Legislature shall either pardon or commute the sentence, direct the execution of the sentence, or grant a further reprieve. He shall communicate to the Legislature at each session information of each case of reprieve, commutation or pardon granted, and the reasons therefor.

Sec. 12. In case of the impeachment of the Governor, his removal from office, death, inability, resignation or absence from the State, the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the Lieutenant Governor, for the residue of the term, or until the disability ceases. When the Governor shall be out of the State in time of war, at the head of a military force thereof, he shall continue commander-in-chief of all the military force of the State.

Sec. 13. During a vacancy in the office of Governor, if the Lieutenant Governor die, resign, be impeached, displaced, be incapable of performing the duties of his office, or absent from the State, the President *pro tempore* of the Senate shall act as Governor, until the vacancy be filled, or the disability cease.

Sec. 14. The Lieutenant Governor shall, by virtue of his office, be President of the Senate. In committee of the whole he may debate all questions; and when there is an equal division he shall give the casting vote.

Sec. 15. No member of Congress, nor any person holding office under the United States, or this State, shall execute the office of Governor.

Sec. 16. No person elected Governor or Lieutenant Governor shall be eligible to any office or appointment from the Legislature, or either house thereof, during the time for which he was elected. All votes for either of them, for any such office, shall be void.

Sec. 17. The Lieutenant [Governor] and President of the Senate *pro tempore*, when performing the duties of Governor, shall receive the same compensation as the Governor.

Sec. 18. All official acts of the Governor, his approval of the laws excepted, shall be authenticated by the great seal of the State, which shall be kept by the Secretary of State.

Sec. 19. All commissions issued to persons holding office under the provisions of this constitution, shall be in the name and by the authority of the people of the State of Michigan, sealed with the great seal of the State, signed by the Governor and countersigned by the Secretary of State.

ARTICLE VI

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Section 1. The judicial power is vested in one Supreme Court, in Circuit Courts, in probate courts, and in justices of the peace. Municipal courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction may be established by the Legislature in cities.

Sec. 2. For the term of six years, and thereafter, until the Legislature otherwise provide, the judges of the several Circuit Courts shall be judges of the Supreme Court, four of whom shall constitute a quorum. A concurrence of three shall be necessary to a final decision. After six years, the Legislature may provide by law for the organization of a Supreme Court, with the jurisdiction and powers prescribed in this constitution, to consist of one chief justice and three associate justices, to be chosen by the electors of the State. Such Supreme Court, when so organized, shall not be changed or discontinued by the Legislature for eight years thereafter. The judges thereof shall be so classified that but one of them shall go out of office at the same time. Their term of office shall be eight years.

Sec. 3. The Supreme Court shall have a general superintending control over all inferior courts, and shall have power to issue writs of error, habeas corpus, mandamus, quo warranto, procedendo, and other original and remedial writs, and to hear

and determine the same. In all other cases it shall have appellate jurisdiction only.

Sec. 4. Four terms of the Supreme Court shall be held annually, at such times and places as may be designated by law.

Sec. 5. The Supreme Court shall, by general rules, establish, modify and amend the practice in such court and in the Circuit Courts, and simplify the same. The Legislature shall, as far as practicable, abolish distinctions between law and equity proceedings. The office of master in chancery is prohibited.

Sec. 6. The State shall be divided into eight judicial circuits; in each of which the electors thereof shall elect one circuit judge, who shall hold his office for the term of six years and until his successor is elected and qualified.

Sec. 7. The Legislature may alter the limits of circuits or increase the number of the same. No alteration or increase shall have the effect to remove a judge from office. In every additional circuit established, the judge shall be elected by the electors of such circuit, and his term of office shall continue as provided in this constitution for judges of the Circuit Court.

Sec. 8. The Circuit Courts shall have original jurisdiction in all matters, civil and criminal, not excepted in this constitution, and not prohibited by law, and appellate jurisdiction from all inferior courts and tribunals, and a supervisory control of the same. They shall also have power to issue writs of habeas corpus, mandamus, injunction, quo warranto, certiorari, and other writs necessary to carry into effect their orders, judgments and decrees, and give them a general control over inferior courts, and tribunals within their respective jurisdictions.

Sec. 9. Each of the judges of the Circuit Courts shall receive a salary, payable quarterly. They shall be ineligible to any other than a judicial office during the term for which they are elected, and for one year thereafter. All votes for any person elected such judge, for any office other than judicial, given either by the Legislature or the people, shall be void.

Sec. 10. The Supreme Court may appoint a reporter of its decisions. The decisions of the Supreme Court shall be in writing, and signed by the judges concurring therein. Any judge dissenting therefrom shall give the reasons of such dissent in writing, under his signature. All such opinions shall be filed in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court. The judges of the Circuit Court, within their respective jurisdictions, may fill vacancies in the office of county clerk and of prosecuting attorney; but no judge of the Supreme Court, or Circuit Court, shall exercise any other power of appointment to public office.

Sec. 11. A Circuit Court shall be held at least twice in each year in every county organized for judicial purposes, and four times in each year in counties containing ten thousand inhabitants. Judges of the Circuit Court may hold courts for each other, and shall do so when required by law.

Sec. 12. The clerk of each county organized for judicial purposes shall be the clerk of the Circuit Court of such county, and of the Supreme Court when held within the same.

Sec. 13. In each of the counties organized for judicial purposes, there shall be a Court of Probate. The judge of such court shall be elected by the electors of the county in which he resides, and shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor is elected and qualified. The jurisdiction, powers and duties of such court shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 14. When a vacancy occurs in the office of judge of the Supreme, Circuit or Probate Court, it shall be filled by appointment of the Governor, which shall continue until a successor is elected and qualified. When elected, such successor shall hold his office the residue of the unexpired term.

Sec. 15. The Supreme Court, the Circuit and Probate Courts of each county, shall be courts of record, and shall each have a common seal.

Sec. 16. The Legislature may provide by law for the election of one or more persons in each organized county, who may be vested with judicial powers not exceeding those of a judge of the Circuit Court at chambers.

Sec. 17. There shall be not exceeding four justices of the peace in each organized township. They shall be elected by the electors of the townships, and shall hold their offices for four years, and until their successors are elected and qualified. At the first election in any townships, they shall be classified as shall be prescribed by law. A justice elected to fill a vacancy shall hold his office for the residue of the unexpired term. The Legislature may increase the number of justices in cities.

Sec. 18. In civil cases, justices of the peace shall have exclusive jurisdiction to the amount of one hundred dollars, and concurrent jurisdiction to the amount of three hundred dollars, which may be increased to five hundred dollars, with such exceptions and restrictions as may be provided by law. They shall also have such criminal jurisdiction and perform such duties as shall be prescribed by the Legislature.

Sec. 19. Judges of the Supreme Court, circuit judges, and justices of the peace, shall be conservators of the peace within their respective jurisdictions.

Sec. 20. The first election of judges of the Circuit Courts shall be held on the first Monday in April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, and every sixth year thereafter. Whenever an additional circuit is created, provision shall be made to hold the subsequent election of such additional judges at the regular elections herein provided.

Sec. 21. The first election of judges of the Probate Courts shall be held on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday of November, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, and every fourth year thereafter.

Sec. 22. Whenever a judge shall remove beyond the limits of the jurisdiction for which he was elected, or a justice of the peace from the township in which he was elected, or by a change in the boundaries of such township, shall be placed without the same, they shall be deemed to have vacated their respective offices.

Sec. 23. The Legislature may establish courts of conciliation, with such powers and duties as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 24. Any suitor in any court of this State shall have the right to prosecute or defend his suit, either in his own proper person, or by an attorney or agent of his choice.

Sec. 25. In all prosecutions for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted. The jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

Sec. 26. The person, houses, papers and possessions of every person shall be secure from unreasonable searches and seizures. No warrant to search any place or to seize any person or things, shall issue without describing them, nor without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation.

Sec. 27. The right of trial by jury shall remain, but shall be deemed to be waived in all civil cases, unless demanded by one of the parties in such manner as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 28. In every criminal prosecution the accused shall have the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury, which may consist of less than twelve men in all courts not of record; to be informed of the nature of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Sec. 29. No person, after acquittal upon the merits, shall be tried for the same offence. All persons shall, before conviction, be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for murder and treason, when the proof is evident or the presumption great.

Sec. 30. Treason against the State shall consist only in levying war against [it,] or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless upon the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Sec. 31. Excessive bail shall not be required; excessive fines shall not be imposed; cruel or unusual punishment shall not be inflicted, nor shall witnesses be unreasonably detained.

Sec. 32. No person shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.

Sec. 33. No person shall be imprisoned for debt, arising out of or founded on a contract, express or implied, except in cases of fraud or breach of trust, or of moneys collected by public officers or in any professional employment. No person shall be imprisoned for a militia fine in time of peace.

Sec. 34. No person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief.

Sec. 35. The style of all process shall be: "In the name of the people of the State of Michigan."

Article VII

ELECTIONS

Section 1. In all elections, every white male citizen, every white male inhabitant residing in the State on the twenty-fourth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five; every white male inhabitant residing in the State on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, who has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, pursuant to the laws thereof, six months preceding an election, or who has resided in this State two years and six months, and declared his intention as aforesaid, and every civilized male inhabitant of Indian descent, a native of the United States, and not a member of any tribe, shall be an elector and entitled to vote; but no citizen or inhabitant shall be an elector or entitled to vote at any election, unless he shall be above the age of twenty-one years, and has resided in this State three months, and in the township or ward in which he offers to vote, ten days next preceding such election.

Sec. 2. All votes shall be given by ballot, except for such township officers as may be authorized by law to be otherwise chosen.

Sec. 3. Every elector, in all cases except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, shall be privileged from arrest during his attendance at election, and in going to and returning from the same.

Sec. 4. No elector shall be obliged to do militia duty on the day of election, except in time of war or public danger, or attend court as a suitor or witness.

Sec. 5. No elector shall be deemed to have gained or lost a residence by reason of his being employed in the service of the United States or of this State; nor while engaged in the navigation of the waters of this State or of the United States, or of the high seas; nor while kept at any almshouse or other asylum at public expense; nor while confined in any public prison.

Sec. 6. Laws may be passed to preserve the purity of elections, and guard against abuses of the elective franchise.

Sec. 7. No soldier, seaman, nor marine in the army or navy of the United States, shall be deemed a resident of this State in consequence of being stationed in any military or naval place within the same.

Sec. 8. Any inhabitant who may hereafter be engaged in a duel, either as principal or accessory before the fact, shall be disqualified from holding any office under the constitution and laws of this State, and shall not be permitted to vote at any election.

ARTICLE VIII

STATE OFFICERS

Sec. 1. There shall be elected at each general biennial election, a Secretary of State, a Superintendent of Public Instruction, a State Treasurer, a Commissioner of the Land Office, an Auditor General, and an Attorney General, for the term of two years. They shall keep their offices at the seat of government, and shall perform such duties as may be prescribed by law.

Sec. 2. Their term of office shall commence on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three, and of every second year thereafter.

Sec. 3. Whenever a vacancy shall occur in any of the State offices, the Governor shall fill the same by appointment, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, if in session.

Sec. 4. The Secretary of State, State Treasurer, and Commissioner of the State Land Office shall constitute a board of State Auditors, to examine and adjust all claims against the State not otherwise provided for by general law. They shall constitute

a board of State Canvassers to determine the result of all elections for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and State Officers, and of such other officers as shall by law be referred to them.

Sec. 5. In case two or more persons have an equal and the highest number of votes for any office, as canvassed by the board of State Canvassers, the Legislature, in joint convention, shall choose one of said persons to fill such office. When the determination of the board of State Canvassers is contested, the Legislature in joint convention shall decide which person is elected.

ARTICLE IX

SALARIES

Sec. 1. The governor shall receive an annual salary of one thousand dollars; the judges of the Circuit Court shall each receive an annual salary of one thousand five hundred dollars; the State Treasurer shall receive an annual salary of one thousand dollars; the Auditor General shall receive an annual salary of one thousand dollars; the Superintendent of Public Instruction shall receive an annual salary of one thousand dollars; the Secretary of State shall receive an annual salary of eight hundred dollars; the Commissioner of the Land Office shall receive an annual salary of eight hundred dollars; the Attorney General shall receive an annual salary of eight hundred dollars. They shall receive no fees or perquisites whatever, for the performance of any duties connected with their offices. It shall not be competent for the Legislature to increase the salaries herein provided.

ARTICLE X

COUNTIES

Sec. 1. Each organized county shall be a body corporate, with such powers and immunities as shall be established by law. All suits and proceedings by or against a county shall be in the name thereof.

Sec. 2. No organized county shall ever be reduced by the organization of new counties to less than sixteen townships, as surveyed by the United States, unless, in pursuance of law, a majority of electors residing in each county to be affected thereby shall so decide. The Legislature may organize any city into a separate county, when it has attained a population of twenty

thousand inhabitants, without reference to geographical extent, when a majority of the electors of a county in which such city may be situated, voting thereon, shall be in favor of a separate organization.

Sec. 3. In each organized county there shall be a Sheriff, a County Clerk, a County Treasurer, a Register of Deeds and a Prosecuting Attorney, chosen by the electors thereof, once in two years, and as often as vacancies shall happen, whose duties and powers shall be prescribed by law. The board of supervisors in any county may unite the offices of County Clerk and Register of Deeds in one office, or disconnect the same.

Sec. 4. The sheriff, county clerk, county treasurer, judge of probate and register of deeds, shall hold their offices at the county seat.

Sec. 5. The sheriff shall hold no other office, and shall be incapable of holding the office of sheriff longer than four in any period of six years. He may be required by law to renew his security from time to time, and in default of giving such security, his office shall be deemed vacant. The county shall never be responsible for his acts.

Sec. 6. A board of supervisors, consisting of one from each organized township, shall be established in each county, with such powers as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 7. Cities shall have such representation in the board of supervisors of the counties in which they are situated, as the Legislature may direct.

Sec. 8. No county seat once established shall be removed until the place to which it is proposed to be removed shall be designated by two-thirds of the board of supervisors of the county, and a majority of the electors voting thereon shall have voted in favor of the proposed location, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 9. The board of supervisors of any county may borrow or raise by tax one thousand dollars, for constructing or repairing public buildings, highways or bridges; but no greater sum shall be borrowed or raised by tax for such purpose in any one year, unless authorized by a majority of the electors of such county voting thereon.

Sec. 10. The board of supervisors, or in the county of Wayne, the board of county auditors, shall have the exclusive power to prescribe and fix the compensation for all services rendered for, and to adjust all claims against, their respective counties; and the sum so fixed or defined shall be subject to no appeal.

Sec. 11. The board of supervisors of each organized county

may provide for laying out highways, constructing bridges, and organizing townships, under such restrictions and limitations as shall be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE XI

TOWNSHIPS

Sec. 1. There shall be elected annually, on the first Monday of April, in each organized township, one supervisor, one township clerk, who shall be ex-officio school inspector, one commissioner of highways, one township treasurer, one school inspector, not exceeding four constables, and one overseer of highways for each highway district, whose powers and duties shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 2. Each organized township shall be a body corporate, with such powers and immunities as shall be prescribed by law. All suits and proceedings by or against a township, shall be in the name thereof.

ARTICLE XII

IMPEACHMENTS AND REMOVALS FROM OFFICE

Sec. 1. The House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeaching civil officers for corrupt conduct in office, or for crimes and misdemeanors; but a majority of the members elected shall be necessary to direct an impeachment.

Sec. 2. Every impeachment shall be tried by the Senate. When the Governor or Lieutenant Governor is tried, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall preside. When an impeachment is directed, the Senate shall take an oath or affirmation truly and impartially to try and determine the same according to the evidence. No person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members elected. Judgment in case of impeachment shall not extend further than removal from office; but the party convicted shall be liable to punishment according to law.

Sec. 3. When an impeachment is directed, the House of Representatives shall elect from their own body three members, whose duty it shall be to prosecute such impeachment. No impeachment shall be tried until the final adjournment of the Legislature, when the Senate shall proceed to try the same.

Sec. 4. No judicial officer shall exercise his office after an impeachment is directed, until he is acquitted.

Sec. 5. The Governor may make a provisional appointment to fill a vacancy occasioned by the suspension of an officer until he shall be acquitted, or until after the election and qualification of a successor.

Sec. 6. For reasonable cause, which shall not be sufficient ground for the impeachment of a judge, the Governor shall remove him on a concurrent resolution of two-thirds of the members elected to each house of the Legislature; but the cause for which such removal is required, shall be stated at length in such resolution.

Sec. 7. The legislature shall provide by law for the removal of any officer elected by a county, township or school district, in such manner and for such cause as to them shall seem just and proper.

ARTICLE XIII

EDUCATION

Sec. 1. The Superintendent of Public Instruction shall have the general supervision of public instruction, and his duties shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 2. The proceeds from the sales of all lands that have been or hereafter may be granted by the United States to the State for educational purposes, and the proceeds of all lands or other property given by individuals, or appropriated by the State for like purposes, shall be and remain a perpetual fund, the interest and income of which, together with the rents of all such lands as may remain unsold, shall be inviolably appropriated and annually applied to the specific objects of the original gift, grant or appropriation.

Sec. 3. All land, the titles to which shall fail from a defect of heirs, shall escheat to the State; and the interest on the clear proceeds from the sales thereof, shall be appropriated exclusively to the support of primary schools.

Sec. 4. The Legislature shall, within five years from the adoption of this constitution, provide for and establish a system of primary schools, whereby a school shall be kept without charge for tuition, at least three months in each year, in every school district in the State; and all instruction in said schools shall be conducted in the English language.

Sec. 5. A school shall be maintained in each school district, at least three months in each year. Any school district neglecting to maintain such school, shall be deprived for the ensuing year of

its proportion of the income of the primary school fund, and of all funds arising from taxes for the support of schools.

Sec. 6. There shall be elected in each judicial circuit, at the time of the election of the judge of such circuit, a regent of the University, whose term of office shall be the same as that of such judge. The regents thus elected shall constitute the board of regents of the University of Michigan.

Sec. 7. The regents of the University and their successors in office shall continue to constitute the body corporate, known by the name and title of "the regents of the University of Michigan."

Sec. 8. The regents of the University shall, at their first annual meeting, or as soon thereafter as may be, elect a president of the University, who shall be ex-officio a member of their board, with the privilege of speaking, but not of voting. He shall preside at the meetings of the regents, and be the principal executive officer of the University. The board of regents shall have the general supervision of the University, and the direction and control of all expenditures from the University interest fund.

Sec. 9. There shall be elected at the general election in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, three members of a State board of education; one for two years, one for four years, and one for six years; and at each succeeding biennial election there shall be elected one member of such board, who shall hold his office for six years. The Superintendent of Public Instruction shall be ex-officio a member and Secretary of such board. The board shall have the general supervision of the State Normal school, and their duties shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 10. Institutions for the benefit of those inhabitants who are deaf, dumb, blind or insane, shall always be fostered and supported.

Sec. 11. The Legislature shall encourage the promotion of intellectual, scientific and agricultural improvement; and shall, as soon as practicable, provide for the establishment of an agricultural school. The Legislature may appropriate the twenty-two sections of salt spring lands now unappropriated, or the money arising from the sale of the same, where such lands have been already sold, and any land which may hereafter be granted or appropriated for such purpose, for the support and maintenance of such school, and may make the same a branch of the University for instruction in agriculture and the natural sciences connected therewith, and place the same under the supervision of the regents of the University.

Sec. 12. The Legislature shall also provide for the establish-

ment of at least one library in each township; and all fines assessed and collected in the several counties and townships for any breach of the penal laws, shall be exclusively applied to the support of such libraries.

ARTICLE XIV

FINANCE AND TAXATION

Sec. 1. All specific State taxes, except those received from the mining companies of the upper peninsula, shall be applied in paying the interest upon the primary school, university and other educational funds, and the interest and principal of the State debt, in the order herein recited, until the extinguishment of the State debt, other than the amounts due to educational funds; when such specific taxes shall be added to, and constitute a part of the primary school interest fund. The Legislature shall provide for an annual tax, sufficient, with other resources, to pay the estimated expenses of the State government, the interest of the State debt, and such deficiency as may occur in the resources.

Sec. 2. The Legislature shall provide by law a sinking fund of at least twenty thousand dollars a year, to commence in eighteen hundred and fifty-two, with compound interest at the rate of six per cent per annum, and an annual increase of at least five per cent, to be applied solely to the payment and extinguishment of the principal of the State debt, other than the amounts due to educational funds, and shall be continued until the extinguishment thereof. The unfunded debt shall not be funded or redeemed at a value exceeding that established by law in one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

Sec. 3. The State may contract debts to meet deficits in revenues. Such debts shall not in the aggregate at any one time exceed fifty thousand dollars. The moneys so raised shall be applied to the purposes for which they were obtained, or to the payment of the debts so contracted.

Sec. 4. The State may contract debts to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, or defend the State in time of war. The money arising from the contracting of such debts shall be applied to the purpose for which it was raised, or to repay such debts.

Sec. 5. No money shall be paid out of the treasury except in pursuance of appropriations made by law.

Sec. 6. The credit of the State shall not be granted to or in aid of any person, association or corporation.

Sec. 7. No scrip, certificate, or other evidence of State indebtedness shall be issued, except for the redemption of stock

previously issued, or for such debts as are expressly authorized in this constitution.

Sec. 8. The State shall not subscribe to or be interested in the stock of any company, association or corporation.

Sec. 9. The State shall not be a party to or interested in any work of internal improvement, nor engaged in carrying on any such work, except in the expenditure of grants to the State of land or other property.

Sec. 10. The State may continue to collect all specific taxes accruing to the treasury under existing laws. The Legislature may provide for the collection of specific taxes from banking, railroad, plank road, and other corporations hereafter created.

Sec. 11. The Legislature shall provide an uniform rule of taxation, except on property paying specific taxes; and taxes shall be levied on such property as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 12. All assessments hereafter authorized shall be on property at its cash value.

Sec. 13. The Legislature shall provide for an equalization by a State board in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, and every fifth year thereafter, of assessments on all taxable property except that paying specific taxes.

Sec. 14. Every law which imposes, continues or revives a tax, shall distinctly state the tax, and the object to which it is to be applied; and it shall not be sufficient to refer to any other law to fix such tax or object.

ARTICLE XV

CORPORATIONS

Sec. 1. Corporations may be formed under general laws; but shall not be created by special act, except for municipal purposes. All laws passed pursuant to this section, may be altered, amended or repealed.

Sec. 2. No banking law or law for banking purposes, or amendments thereof, shall have effect until the same shall, after its passage, be submitted to a vote of the electors of the State, at a general election, and be approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon at such election.

Sec. 3. The officers and stockholders of every corporation or association for banking purposes, issuing bank notes or paper credits to circulate as money, shall be individually liable for all debts contracted during the time of their being officers or stockholders of such corporation or association.

Sec. 4. The Legislature shall provide by law for the registry of all bills or notes issued or put in circulation as money, and shall require security to the full amount of notes and bills so registered, in State or United States stocks bearing interest, which shall be deposited with the State Treasurer for the redemption of such bills or notes in specie.

Sec. 5. In case of the insolvency of any bank or banking association, the bill holders thereof shall be entitled to preference in payment, over all other creditors of such bank or association.

Sec. 6. The Legislature shall pass no law authorizing or sanctioning the suspension of specie payments by any person, association or corporation.

Sec. 7. The stockholders of all corporations and joint stock associations shall be individually liable for all labor performed for such corporation or association.

Sec. 8. The Legislature shall pass no law altering or amending any act of incorporation heretofore granted, without the assent of two-thirds of the members elected to each house; nor shall any such act be renewed or extended. This restriction shall not apply to municipal corporations.

Sec. 9. The property of no person shall be taken by any corporation for public use, without compensation being first made or secured, in such manner as may be prescribed by law.

Sec. 10. No corporation, except for municipal purposes, or for the construction of railroads, plank roads and canals, shall be created for a longer time than thirty years.

Sec. 11. The term "corporations," as used in the preceding sections of this article, shall be construed to include all associations and joint stock companies having any of the powers or privileges of corporations not possessed by individuals or partnerships. All corporations shall have the right to sue and be subject to be sued in all courts, in like cases as natural persons.

Sec. 12. No corporation shall hold any real estate hereafter acquired for a longer period than ten years, except such real estate as shall be actually occupied by such corporation in the exercise of its franchises.

Sec. 13. The Legislature shall provide for the incorporation and organization of cities and villages, and shall restrict their powers of taxation, borrowing money, contracting debts, and loaning their credit.

Sec. 14. Judicial officers of cities and villages shall be elected, and all other officers shall be elected or appointed at such time and in such manner as the Legislature may direct.

Sec. 15. Private property shall not be taken for public im-

provements in cities and villages without the consent of the owner, unless the compensation therefor shall first be determined by a jury of freeholders, and actually paid or secured in the manner provided by law.

Sec. 16. Previous notice of any application for an alteration of the charter of any corporation shall be given in such manner as may be prescribed by law.

Article XVI

EXEMPTIONS

Sec. 1. The personal property of every resident of this State, to consist of such property only as shall be designated by law, shall be exempted to the amount of not less than five hundred dollars, from sale on execution or other final process of any court, issued for the collection of any debt contracted after the adoption of this constitution.

Sec. 2. Every homested of not exceeding forty acres of land, and the dwelling house thereon, and the appurtenances to be selected by the owner thereof, and not included in any town plat, city or village; or instead thereof, at the option of the owner, any lot in any city, village or recorded town plat, or such parts of lots as shall be equal thereto, and the dwelling house thereon, and its appurtenances, owned and occupied by any resident of the State, not exceeding in value fifteen hundred dollars, shall be exempt from forced sale on execution, or any other final process from a court, for any debt contracted after the adoption of this constitution. Such exemption shall not extend to any mortgage thereon lawfully obtained; but such mortgage or other alienation of such land by the owner thereof, if a married man, shall not be valid without the signature of the wife to the same.

Sec. 3. The homested of a family, after the death of the owner thereof, shall be exempt from the payment of his debts, contracted after the adoption of this constitution, in all cases during the minority of his children.

Sec. 4. If the owner of a homested die, leaving a widow, but no children, the same shall be exempt, and the rents and profits thereof shall accrue to her benefit during the time of her widowhood, unless she be the owner of a homested in her own right.

Sec. 5. The real and personal estate of every female, acquired before marriage, and all property to which she may afterwards become entitled by gift, grant, inheritance or devise, shall be and remain the estate and property of such female, and shall not be

liable for the debts, obligations or engagements of her husband, and may be devised or bequeathed by her as if she were unmarried.

ARTICLE XVII

MILITIA

Sec. 1. The militia shall be composed of all able bodied white male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, except such as are exempted by the laws of the United States or of this State; but all such citizens, of any religious denomination whatever, who, from scruples of conscience, may be averse to bearing arms, shall be excused therefrom, upon such conditions as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 2. The Legislature shall provide by law for organizing, equipping and disciplining the militia, in such manner as they shall deem expedient, not incompatible with the laws of the United States.

Sec. 3. Officers of the militia shall be elected or appointed, and be commissioned in such manner as may be provided by law.

ARTICLE XVIII

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Sec. 1. Members of the Legislature, and all officers, executive and judicial, except such officers as may by law be exempted, shall, before they enter on the duties of their respective offices, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the constitution of the United States and the constitution of this State, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of———— according to the best of my ability." And no other oath, declaration or test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust.

Sec. 2. When private property is taken for the use or benefit of the public, the necessity for using such property, and the just compensation to be made therefor, except when to be made by the State, shall be ascertained by a jury of twelve freeholders, residing in the vicinity of such property, or by not less than three commissioners, appointed by a court of record, as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 3. No mechanical trade shall hereafter be taught to convicts in the State prison of this State, except the manufacture

of those articles of which the chief supply for home consumption is imported from other States or countries.

Sec. 4. No navigable stream in this State shall be either bridged or dammed without authority from the board of supervisors of the proper county, under the provisions of law. No such law shall prejudice the right of individuals to the free navigation of such streams, or preclude the State from the further improvement of the navigation of such streams.

Sec. 5. An accurate statement of the receipts and expenditures of the public moneys shall be attached to and published with the laws, at every regular session of the Legislature.

Sec. 6. The laws, public records, and the written judicial and legislative proceedings of the State shall be conducted, promulgated and preserved in the English language.

Sec. 7. Every person has a right to bear arms for the defence of himself and the State.

Sec. 8. The military shall, in all cases, and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power.

Sec. 9. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner or occupant, nor in time of war, except in a manner prescribed by law.

Sec. 10. The people have the right peaceably to assemble together, to consult for the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the Legislature for redress of grievances.

Sec. 11. Neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crime, shall ever be tolerated in this State.

Sec. 12. No lease or grant hereafter of agricultural land for a longer period than twelve years, reserving any rent or service of any kind, shall be valid.

Sec. 13. Aliens who are, or who may hereafter become, *bona fide* residents of this State, shall enjoy the same rights in respect to the possession, enjoyment and inheritance of property, as native born citizens.

Sec. 14. The property of no person shall be taken for public use without just compensation therefor. Private roads may be opened in the manner to be prescribed by law; but in every case the necessities of the road and the amount of all damage to be sustained by the opening thereof, shall be first determined by a jury of freeholders; and such amount, together with the expenses of proceedings, shall be paid by the person or persons to be benefitted.

Sec. 15. No general revision of the laws shall hereafter be made. When a reprint thereof becomes necessary, the Legislature in joint convention shall appoint a suitable person to collect

together such acts and parts of acts as are in force, and without alteration, arrange them under appropriate heads and titles. The laws so arranged shall be submitted to two commissioners appointed by the Governor for examination, and if certified by them to be a correct compilation of all general laws in force, shall be printed in such manner as shall be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE XIX

UPPER PENINSULA

Sec. 1. The counties of Mackinac, Chippewa, Delta, Marquette, Schoolcraft, Houghton and Ontonagon, and the islands and territory thereunto attached, the islands of Lake Superior, Huron and Michigan, and in Green Bay, and the straits of Mackinac and the River Ste. Marie, shall constitute a separate judicial district, and be entitled to a district judge and district attorney.

Sec. 2. The district judge shall be elected by the electors of such district, and shall perform the same duties and possess the same powers as a circuit judge in his circuit, and shall hold his office for the same period.

Sec. 3. The district attorney shall be elected every two years by the electors of the district, shall perform the duties of prosecuting attorney throughout the entire district, and may issue warrants for the arrest of offenders in cases of felony, to be proceeded with as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 4. Such judicial district shall be entitled at all times to at least one Senator; and until entitled to more by its population, it shall have three members of the House of Representatives, to be apportioned among the several counties by the Legislature.

Sec. 5. The Legislature may provide for the payment of the district judge a salary not exceeding one thousand dollars a year, and of the district attorney not exceeding seven hundred dollars a year; and may allow extra compensation to the members of the Legislature from such territory, not exceeding two dollars a day during any session.

Sec. 6. The elections for all district or county officers, State Senator or Representatives, within the boundaries defined in this article, shall take place on the last Tuesday of September in the respective years in which they may be required. The county canvass shall be held on the first Tuesday in October thereafter, and the district canvass on the last Tuesday of said October.

Sec. 7. One-half of the taxes received into the treasury from

mining corporations in the upper peninsula paying an annual State tax of one per cent, shall be paid to the treasurers of the counties from which it is received, to be applied for township and county purposes, as provided by law. The Legislature shall have power, after the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, to reduce the amount to be refunded.

Sec. 8. The Legislature may change the location of the State prison from Jackson to the Upper Peninsula.

Sec. 9. The charters of the several mining corporations may be modified by the Legislature, in regard to the term limited for subscribing to stock, and in relation to the quantity of land which a corporation shall hold; but the capital shall not be increased, nor the time for the existence of charters extended. No such corporation shall be permitted to purchase or hold any real estate except such as shall be necessary for the exercise of its corporate franchises.

Article XX

Amendment and Revision of the Constitution

Sec. 1. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the Senate or House of Representatives. If the same shall be agreed to by two-thirds of the members elected to each house, such amendment or amendments shall be entered on their journals respectively, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and the same shall be submitted to the electors at the next general election thereafter; and if a majority of the electors qualified to vote for members of the legislature voting thereon, shall ratify and approve such amendment or amendments, the same shall become part of the constitution.

Sec. 2. At the general election to be held in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and in each sixteenth year thereafter; and also at such other times as the Legislature may by law provide, the question of a general revision of the constitution shall be submitted to the electors qualified to vote for members of the legislature; and in case a majority of the electors so qualified, voting at such election, shall decide in favor of a convention for such purpose, the legislature, at the next session, shall provide by law for the election of delegates to such convention. All the amendments shall take effect at the commencement of the political year after their adoption.

SCHEDULE

That no inconvenience may arise from the changes in the constitution of this State, and in order to carry the same into complete operation, it is hereby declared, that

Sec. 1. The common law and the statute laws now in force, not repugnant to this constitution, shall remain in force until they expire by their own limitations, or are altered or repealed by the Legislature.

Sec. 2. All writs, actions, causes of action, prosecutions and rights of individuals and of bodies corporate, and of the State, and all charters of incorporation, shall continue; and all indictments which shall have been found, or which may hereafter be found, for any crime or offence committed before the adoption of this constitution, may be proceeded upon as if no change had taken place. The several courts, except as herein otherwise provided, shall continue with the like powers and jurisdiction, both at law and in equity, as if this constitution had not been adopted, and until the organization of the judicial department under this constitution.

Sec. 3. That all fines, penalties, forfeitures, and escheats accruing to the State of Michigan under the present constitution and laws, shall accrue to the use of the State under this constitution.

Sec. 4. That all recognizances, bonds, obligations and all other instruments entered into or executed before the adoption of this constitution, to the people of the State of Michigan, to any State, county or township, or any public officer or public body, or which may be entered into or executed under existing laws "to the people of the State of Michigan," to any such officer or public body, before the complete organization of the departments of government under this constitution, shall remain binding and valid; and rights and liabilities upon the same shall continue and may be prosecuted as provided by law. And all crimes and misdemeanors and penal actions, shall be tried, punished and prosecuted, as though no change had taken place, until otherwise provided by law.

Sec. 5. A Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall be chosen under the existing constitution and laws, to serve after the expiration of the term of the present incumbent.

Sec. 6. All officers, civil and military, now holding any office or appointment, shall continue to hold their respective offices, unless removed by competent authority, until superseded under the laws now in force, or under this constitution.

Sec. 7. The members of the Senate and House of Representa-

tives of the Legislature of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one shall continue in office, under the provisions of law, until superseded by their successors, elected and qualified under this constitution.

Sec. 8. All county officers, unless removed by competent authority, shall continue to hold their respective offices until the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three. The laws now in force as to the election, qualification and duties of township officers, shall continue in force until the Legislature shall, in conformity to the provisions of this constitution, provide for the holding of elections to fill such offices, and prescribe the duties of such officers respectively.

Sec. 9. On the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, the terms of office of the judges of the Supreme Court under existing laws, and of the judges of the County Courts, and of the clerks of the Supreme Court, shall expire on the said day.

Sec. 10. On the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, the jurisdiction of all suits and proceedings then pending in the present Supreme Court, shall become vested in the Supreme Court established by this constitution, and shall be finally adjudicated by the court where the same may be pending. The jurisdiction of all suits and proceedings at law and equity, then pending in the Circuit Courts and County Courts for the several counties, shall become vested in the Circuit Court of the said counties, and District Court of the upper peninsula.

Sec. 11. The probate courts, the courts of justices of the peace, and the police court authorized by an act entitled "an act to establish a police court in the city of Detroit," approved April second, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, shall continue to exercise the jurisdiction and powers now conferred upon them respectively, until otherwise provided by law.

Sec. 12. The office of State printer shall be vested in the present incumbent until the expiration of the term for which he was elected under the law then in force; and all the provisions of the said law relating to his duties, rights, privileges and compensation, shall remain unimpaired and inviolate until the expiration of his said term of office.

Sec. 13. It shall be the duty of the Legislature, at their first session, to adapt the present laws to the provisions of this constitution, as far as may be.

Sec. 14. The Attorney General of the State is required to prepare and report to the Legislature, at the commencement

of the next session, such changes and modifications in existing laws as may be deemed necessary to adapt the same to this constitution, and as may be best calculated to carry into effect its provisions; and he shall receive no additional compensation therefor.

Sec. 15. Any territory attached to any county for judicial purposes, if not otherwise represented, shall be considered as forming part of such county, so far as regards elections for the purpose of representation.

Sec. 16. This constitution shall be submitted to the people for their adoption or rejection, at the general election to be held on the first Tuesday of November, one thousand eight hundred and fifty; and there shall also be submitted for adoption or rejection, at the same time, the separate resolution in relation to the elective franchise; and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State, and all other officers required to give or publish any notice in regard to the said general election, to give notice as provided by law in case of an election of Governor, that this constitution has been duly submitted to the electors at said election. Every newspaper within this State publishing in the month of September next, this constitution as submitted, shall receive as compensation therefor, the sum of twenty-five dollars, to be paid as the Legislature shall direct.

Sec. 17. Any person entitled to vote for members of the Legislature, by the constitution and laws now in force, shall, at the said election, be entitled to vote for the adoption or rejection of this constitution, and for or against the resolution separately submitted, at the places and in the manner provided by law for the election of members of the Legislature.

Sec. 18. At the said general election, a ballot box shall be kept by the several boards of inspectors thereof, for receiving the votes cast for or against the adoption of this constitution; and on the ballots shall be written or printed, or partly written and partly printed, the words "adoption of the constitution—yes," or "adoption of the constitution—no."

Sec. 19. The canvass of the votes cast for the adoption or rejection of this constitution, and the provision in relation to the elective franchise separately submitted, and the returns thereof, shall be made by the proper canvassing officers, in the same manner as now provided by law for the canvass and return of the votes cast at an election for Governor, as near as may be; and the return thereof shall be directed to the Secretary of State. On the sixteenth day of December next, or within five days thereafter, the Auditor General, State Treasurer and Secretary

of State shall meet at the Capitol, and proceed, in presence of the Governor, to examine and canvass the returns of the said votes, and proclamation shall forthwith be made by the Governor of the result thereof. If it shall appear that a majority of the votes cast upon the question have thereon "Adoption of the constitution—yes," this constitution shall be the supreme law of the State from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, except as is herein otherwise provided; but if a majority of the votes cast upon the question have thereon "Adoption of the constitution—no," the same shall be null and void. And in case of the adoption of this constitution, said officers shall immediately, or as soon thereafter as practicable, proceed to open the statements of votes returned from the several counties for judges of the Supreme Court and State officers, under the act entitled "an act to amend the revised statutes and to provide for the election of certain officers by the people, in pursuance to an amendment of the constitution," approved February sixteenth, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, and shall ascertain, determine and certify the results of the election for said officers under said acts, in the same manner, as near as may be, as is now provided by law in regard to the election of Representatives in Congress. And the several judges and officers so ascertained to have been elected, may be qualified and enter upon the duties of their respective offices, on the first Monday of January next, or as soon thereafter as practicable.

Sec. 20. The salaries or compensation of all persons holding office under the present constitution shall continue to be the same as now provided by law, until superseded by their successors elected or appointed under this constitution; and it shall not be lawful hereafter for the Legislature to increase or diminish the compensation of any officer during the term for which he is elected or appointed.

Sec. 21. The Legislature, at their first session, shall provide for the payment of all expenditures of the Convention to revise the constitution, and of the publication of the same as is provided in this article.

Sec. 22. Every county except Mackinac and Chippewa, entitled to a representative in the Legislature, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall continue to be so entitled under this constitution; and the county of Saginaw, with the territory that may be attached, shall be entitled to one Representative; the county of Tuscola, and the territory that may be attached, one Representative; the county of Sanilac, and the territory that may be attached, one Representative; the counties of Midland

and Aronac, with the territory that may be attached, one Representative; the county of Montcalm, with the territory that may be attached thereto, one Representative; and the counties of Newaygo and Oceana, with the territory that may be attached thereto, one Representative. Each county having a ratio of representation and a fraction over, equal to a moiety of said ratio, shall be entitled to two representatives, and so on above that number, giving one additional member for each additional ratio.

Sec. 23. The cases pending and undisposed of in the late court of chancery, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall continue to be heard and determined by the judges of the Supreme Court. But the Legislature shall, at its session in one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, provide by law for the transfer of said causes that may remain undisposed of on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, to the Supreme or Circuit Court, established by this constitution, or require that the same may be heard and determined by the circuit judges.

Sec. 24. The term of office of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall commence on the first day of January next after their election.

Sec. 25. The territory described in the article entitled "Upper Peninsula," shall be attached to and constitute a part of the third circuit for the election of a regent of the University.

Sec. 26. The Legislature shall have authority, after the expiration of the term of office of the district judge first elected for the upper peninsula, to abolish said office of district judge and district attorney, or either of them.

Sec. 27. The Legislature shall, at its session of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, apportion the Representatives among the several counties and districts, and divide the State into Senate districts, pursuant to the provisions of this constitution.

Sec. 28. The terms of office of all State and county officers, of the circuit judges, members of the board of education, and members of the Legislature, shall begin on the first day of January next succeeding their election.

Sec. 29. The State, exclusive of the upper peninsula, shall be divided into eight judicial circuits, and the counties of Monroe, Lenawee and Hillsdale shall constitute the first circuit; the counties of Branch, St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien, shall constitute the second circuit; the county of Wayne shall constitute the third circuit; the counties of Washtenaw, Jackson and Ingham shall constitute the fourth circuit; the counties of Calhoun, Kalamazoo,

Allegan, Eaton and Van Buren, shall constitute the fifth circuit; [the] counties of St. Clair, Macomb, Oakland and Sanilac shall constitute the sixth circuit; the counties of Lapeer, Genesee, Saginaw, Shiawassee, Livingston, Tuscola and Midland shall constitute the seventh circuit; and the counties of Barry, Kent, Ottawa, Ionia, Clinton and Montcalm shall constitute the eighth circuit."

RESOLUTION

Sec. 30. At the next general election, and at the same time when the votes of the electors shall be taken for the adoption or rejection of this constitution, an additional amendment to section one of article seven, in the words following:

"Every colored male inhabitant possessing the qualifications required by the first section of the second article of the constitution, shall have the rights and privileges of an elector,"

Shall be separately submitted to the electors of this State for their adoption or rejection, in form following, to wit: A separate ballot may be given by every person having the right to vote for the revised constitution, to be deposited in a separate box. Upon the ballots given for the adoption of the said separate amendment shall be written or printed, or partly written and partly printed, the words "Equal suffrage to colored persons? Yes;" and upon all ballots given against the adoption of the said separate amendment, in like manner, the words "Equal suffrage to colored persons? No." And on such ballots shall be written or printed, or partly written and partly printed, the words "Constitution: Suffrage," in such manner that such words shall appear on the outer side of such ballot when folded. If, at said election, a majority of all the votes given for and against the said separate amendment shall contain the words "Equal suffrage to colored persons? Yes;" then there shall be inserted in the first section of the article, between the words "tribe" and "shall," these words: "and every colored male inhabitant," anything in the constitution to the contrary notwithstanding."

Done in Convention, at the capitol of the State, this fifteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty, and of the Independence of the United States the seventy-fifth.

D. Goodwin, *President.*

Oka Town,
J. W. T. Orr,
Jacob Beeson,
Calvin Britain,
Geo. C. Harvey,
E. Barnard,
Daniel S. Lee,
Robert Crouse,

Charles W. Whipple,
Asahel Brown,
Wales Adams,
Isaac E. Crary,
John D. Pierce,
Nathan Pierce,
Milo Soule,
William V. Morrison,
Geo. Redfield,
David Sturgis,
John D. Burns,
Chas. E. Beardsley,
John Bartow,
Elbridge G. Gale,
D. W. C. Leach,
John Mosher,
Daniel Kinne,
E. B. Danforth,
C. P. Bush,
Henry Bartow,
Cyrus Lovell,
J. L. Butterfield,
R. H. Anderson,
E. S. Robinson,
W. F. Storey,
J. G. Cornell,
Volney Hascall,
Rix Robinson,
Thomas B. Church,
Noah H. Hart,
J. R. White,
Charles Chandler,
Addison J. Comstock,
Ebenezer Daniels,
Nelson Green,
Robert Warden, Jr.,
William Norman McLeod,
C. W. Chapel,
A. S. Robertson,
D. C. Walker,
R. McClelland,
Alexander M. Arzeno,
Henry B. Marvin,
Emerson Choate,
G. O. Whittemore,
J. Van Valkenburgh,
James Webster,
Elias S. Woodman,
A. H. Hanscom,
Z. M. Mowry,
Seneca Newberry,
William Axford,
E. S. Moore,
Wm. Conner,
Joseph R. Williams,
F. J. Prevost,
Elias M. Skinner,
Earl P. Gardiner,
Morgan O'Brien,
James M. Edmunds,
Benj. W. Waite,
Wm. S. Carr,
James Kingsley,
Peter Desnoyers,
Ammon Brown,
E. C. Eaton,
Joseph H. Bagg,
Henry Fralick,
John Gibson,
H. J. Alvord.

John Swegles, Jr.,
Horace S. Roberts, } *Secretaries.*
Charles Hascall,

POPULATION OF MICHIGAN BY COUNTIES

Counties.	1840	1850	1860
Alcona	.....	.....	185
Allegan	1,783	5,125	16,087
Alpena	.....	.....	290
Antrim	.....	.....	179
Barry	1,078	5,072	13,858
Bay	.....	.....	3,164
Berrien	5,011	11,417	22,378
Branch	5,715	12,472	20,981
Calhoun	10,599	19,162	29,564
Cass	5,710	10,907	17,721
Cheboygan	.....	.....	517
Chippewa	534	898	1,603
Clinton	1,614	5,102	13,916
Delta	.....	.....	1,172
Eaton	2,379	7,058	16,476
Emmet	.....	.....	1,149
Genesee	4,268	12,031	22,498
Gladwin	.....	.....	14
Grand Traverse	.....	.....	1,286
Gratiot	.....	.....	4,042
Hillsdale	7,240	16,159	22,675
Houghton	.....	708	9,234
Huron	.....	210	3,165
Ingham	2,498	8,631	17,435
Ionia	1,923	7,597	16,682
Iosco	.....	.....	175
Isabella	.....	.....	1,443
Jackson	13,130	19,431	26,671
Kalamazoo	7,380	13,179	24,646
Kent	2,587	12,016	30,716
Lapeer	4,265	7,029	14,754
Leelanau	.....	.....	2,158
Lenawee	17,889	26,372	38,112
Livingston	7,430	13,485	16,851
Macomb	9,716	15,530	22,843
Manistee	.....	.....	975
Manitou	.....	.....	1,042
Marquette	.....	136	2,821
Mason	.....	93	831
Mecosta	.....	.....	970

POPULATION OF MICHIGAN BY COUNTIES—*Concluded.*

Counties.	1840	1850	1860
Michilimackinac	923	.....	1,938
Michilimackinac, and 21 unorganized counties	.....	3,598	.....
Midland	.....	65	787
Monroe	9,922	14,698	21,593
Montcalm	.....	891	3,968
Muskegon	.....	.....	3,947
Newaygo	.....	510	2,760
Oakland	23,646	31,270	38,261
Oceana	496	300	1,816
Ontonagon	.....	389	4,568
Osceola	.....	.....	27
Ottawa	208	5,587	13,215
Presque Isle	.....	.....	26
Saginaw	892	2,609	12,693
Saint Clair	4,606	10,420	26,604
Sanilac	.....	2,112	7,599
Schoolcraft	.....	16	78
Shiawassee	2,103	5,230	12,349
St. Joseph	7,068	12,725	21,262
Tuscola	.....	291	4,886
Van Buren	1,910	5,800	15,224
Washtenaw	23,571	28,567	35,686
Wayne	24,173	42,756	75,547
Total Population	212,267	397,654	749,113

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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The author has been amply rewarded for the long search for materials used in this thesis. The many discouraging features, such as broken files of valuable newspapers, incomplete collections of very useful manuscripts, the lack of guides to the sources and the scattered condition of much of the best material, which most students of History are forced to meet and overcome, have been encountered in the investigation in this field. On the whole however the investigation has brought forth results even more satisfactory than was anticipated. The most useful collections were found in the following libraries: the Burton Historical Collection at Detroit, the Detroit Public Library, the University of Michigan Library, the State Library, the library at Grand Rapids and the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. A fruitful search has also been made in the library of the Chicago Historical Society, the library of the Garret Biblical Institute at Evanston, Illinois, in practically all the local libraries in the southern half of Michigan, in the pioneer rooms at the county seat towns, and in many of the newspaper publishing houses. In addition, several libraries in the East have been searched by means of correspondence. A great many works have been consulted which do not appear in this bibliography. With some exceptions, only those works which have been cited in the foot notes and those which have been especially suggestive or have given general impressions are listed below. In most cases, an estimate of each source is given or a critical comment is made.

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Report of the Proceedings and Debates in the Convention to Revise the Constitution of the State of Michigan 1850. Lansing, 1850.

RICHARDSON, JAMES D. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789 to 1897.* 10 vols., Washington, 1896-1899. Volumes 4 and 5 cover the period of this study.

The Semi-Centennial of the Admission of the State of Michigan into the Union. Addresses Delivered at Its Celebration, June 15, 1886. Detroit, 1886.

PUBLISHED SPEECHES AND PAMPHLETS

Address of the Democratic Members of the Legislature, Detroit, May 1, 1841. [Detroit, 1841]. Valuable as a critical review of the Whig administration.

Address to the Democracy of Ingham County. [Lansing, 1856]. Address issued at Lansing, August 8, 1856, by a group of Democrats, stating their reasons for supporting Fremont rather than Buchanan.

Appeal of the Whigs of Detroit to the Whigs of Michigan. Detroit, 1856. This pamphlet gives the views of the group of conservative Whigs who supported Buchanan.

BINGHAM, KINSLEY S. *Speech of Mr. Bingham, of Michigan, on the Admission of California, Delivered in the House of Representatives June 4, 1850.* Washington, 1850. Bingham made light of the Southern secession movement and attacked General Cass in this and other speeches.

———, ———. *The Rise and Fall of the Democratic Party. Speech of Hon. Kinsley S. Bingham, of Michigan. Delivered in the United States Senate, May 24, 1860.* [No place of pub., 1860]. Of some value for this work.

———, ———. *Speech of Hon. Kinsley S. Bingham of Michigan. Delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, August 7, 1848.* Washington, 1848. This gives the views of Bingham and the radical Democrats on the issues before the public.

BUEL, ALEXANDER W. *Speech of Hon. Alexander W. Buel, in Defense of the Constitution and the Union. Delivered at a Public Dinner Given to Him by His Fellow-Citizens, at Detroit, November 19, 1850.* Washington, 1851. In this speech Buel appealed for the preservation of the Union and for acquiescence in the compromise measures.

CASS, LEWIS. *Speech of Hon. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, in Reply to Mr. Benton of Missouri, with Some Additions. Delivered in the Senate of the United States, Thursday, April 2, 1846.* [Washington, 1846?]. Contains some valuable suggestions.

———, ———. *The Mexican War. Speech of Hon. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, in the Senate of the United States, February 10, 1847.* [Washington, 1847?]. Useful for Gen. Cass's views.

———, ———. *Speech of Mr. Cass of Michigan, on the Motion of Mr. Benton for the Indefinite Postponement of the Compromise Bill. Delivered in the Senate of the United States, June 14, 1850.* [Washington, n. d.]. Cass showed that he was a staunch supporter of the compromise measures.

DOUGLAS, STEPHEN A. *Speech of Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, on the "Measures of Adjustment," Delivered in the City Hall, Chicago, October 23, 1850.* Washington, 1851. Gives the views of the great leader of the Northwest on the Compromise of 1850.

The Freeman's Pamphlet; or Republicanism and Locofocoism, Their Measures and Policy. Detroit, 1856. The writer signed this, "A Young Democrat." This is a statement of the reasons why the writer and over two hundred other Democrats of Detroit preferred Fremont to Buchanan.

LOOMIS, CHARLES A. *Free Thoughts on Politics and Politicians in Michigan—To My Neighbors in St. Clair County.* Lansing, 1849. The writer shows why the radical Democrats had attacked the conservative faction in the late forties.

MCCLELLAND, ROBERT. *Speech of Mr. McClelland, of Michigan, on the Three Million Appropriation Bill, Delivered in the House of Representatives of the U. S. Feb. 13, 1847.* Washington, 1847. McClelland expressed his views and reflected the views of his anti-slavery constituents on the Wilmot Proviso.

———, ———. *Slavery in the New Territories. Speech of Hon. R. McClelland, of Michigan, in the House of Representatives, February 10, 1849, in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, on the Bill to Carry into Effect the Treaty of Peace with Mexico.* [Washington, 1849?]. He advocates the adoption of the principle of the Wilmot Proviso.

Minutes of the State Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of Michigan, Held in the City of Detroit on the 26th and 27th Days of October, 1843, for the Purpose of Considering Their Moral and Political Condition as Citizens of the State. Detroit, 1843. Gives light on the condition of the negroes, and expresses their wishes especially on the suffrage question.

Proceedings of the Democratic Territorial Convention, Held at Ann Arbor, on the 29th and 30th January 1835. Detroit, 1835. A useful source.

Sixth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with Speeches Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting Held in the City of New York, on the 7th of May, 1839, [etc.]. New York, 1839. Gives statistics showing the location of the anti-slavery societies in Michigan and the number of members in each.

STUART, CHARLES E. *Speech of Hon. C[harles] E. Stuart, of Michigan. Delivered in the House of Representatives, July 12, 1852, on River and Harbor Improvements.* [Washington? 1852?]. Some useful information on this issue.

WISNER, GEORGE W. *Address of George W. Wisner—the Whig Candidate for Congress—to the People of the Third Congressional District of Michigan, 1844.* [No imprint]. This gives the views of the Whigs on the tariff question.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

General

Chicago *Democrat*, February 28, 1843 to December 30, 1845; Weekly Chicago *Democrat*, January 26, 1846 to December 25, 1856. The files are in the Chicago Historical Society Library and are in good condition. This paper gives the political news for the entire Northwest.

National Intelligencer, January 1, 1835 to December 31, 1846; July 3, 1847 to December 29, 1860. The files are in the University of Kansas Library and are very complete. This paper gives considerable news on national politics.

New York *Daily Times*, January 2, 1854 to December 31, 1860.

The files are in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Not much space is given to political questions.

New York *Daily Tribune*, November 1, 1841 to December 31, 1860. The files are broken and have been supplemented by the New York *Weekly Tribune*, January 1, 1848 to September 2, 1854. Files in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. This paper has been the most useful paper published outside of Michigan. It paid special attention to the views of the small farmer element on the national issues.

Niles Weekly Register, September 6, 1834 to August 26, 1837; changed to *Niles National Register*, September 2, 1837 to July, 1849. Most University libraries have the files of this paper. This paper has been of some use, especially for the record of the votes cast by counties in the presidential elections.

The Liberator, March 23, 1833 to December 30, 1842; January 13, 1843 to December 31, 1860. The files are in the Detroit Public Library and are badly broken in the thirties. This paper is not of much use in this study.

The Philanthropist, January 1, 1836 to March 24, 1840. Files in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Very valuable for information on the anti-slavery movement in the thirties and for the rise of the Liberty party.

Evening Post for the Country, January 1, 1850 to March 26, 1850; changed to *The Evening Post*, March 29, 1850 to December 29, 1858. Files also in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. This paper was published in New York and contains some useful articles on politics.

Michigan Newspapers

The files of Michigan newspapers are listed according to parties and as far as possible in alphabetical order according to the name of the town or city where the paper was published. The Detroit Public Library, the Burton Historical Collection, the State Library at Lansing and the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society have files of papers published in various parts of the State. Files which are not in these libraries are in most cases to be found in the libraries or pioneer rooms in the county seats, or in the publishing house in which the particular paper or its successor is published. The location of files found outside of the above mentioned large libraries is not stated.

Democratic Papers

Adrian *Weekly Watchtower*, September 15, 1857 to November 2, 1858.

Adrian *Daily Watchtower*, June 13, 1853 to May 30, 1854; January 3, 1858 to December 13, 1859. Both files are fairly complete between the dates mentioned. The *Watchtower* is especially good for local news and is better than most of the local papers for news of general interest.

Calhoun County Patriot, March 16, 1838 to November 30, 1838, November 27, 1840. A weekly paper. Not very useful. Files in the Burton Historical Collection.

Coldwater *Sentinel*, April 16, 1841 to May 26, 1854; October 12, 1855 to September 18, 1857. The files are very complete and the paper is a valuable source for the student of politics. It gives an excellent insight into the causes of the disaffection in the Democratic party in the late forties and it reflects the sentiment of the anti-slavery element on the southern border.

Detroit *Daily Free Press*, September 28, 1835 to December 31, 1860. Very few missing numbers. The most useful Democratic paper available for this monograph. Files in the Detroit Public Library.

Detroit *Daily Gazette*, December 19, 1842 to June 13, 1843. Excellent for the internal improvement issue. Files in the Detroit Public Library.

East Saginaw *Courier*, June 16, 1859 to December 27, 1860. This paper began publication on June 16, 1859 and is especially valuable because of the lack of ante-bellum newspapers published in the Saginaw Valley.

Grand Rapids *Enquirer*, June 22, 1841 to October 8, 1856. This is practically the only available Democratic paper in the Grand River Valley for this period. This is a weekly paper and the files are in good condition.

Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer*, November 19, 1855 to April 26, 1857; changed to the *Daily Enquirer and Herald*, May 5, 1857 to August 15, 1860; changed to Grand Rapids *Daily Enquirer*, August 16, 1860 to December 30, 1860. Some missing numbers. This paper is a valuable source on the split in the Democratic party from December, 1857 until the summer of 1860. The editor, A. E. Gordon, was a staunch supporter of the Buchanan administration.

Kalamazoo *Gazette*, July 17, 1846 to August 16, 1850; February 10, 1854 to December 25, 1857; January 6, 1860 to December 28, 1860. A weekly paper and a useful source for the politics of west-central Michigan.

The Michigan Argus, January 5, 1837 to August 2, 1839; February 1, 1843 to December 28, 1860. A weekly paper published at Ann Arbor and one of the most valuable Democratic papers in eastern Michigan.

Michigan Democrat, March 8 and August 25, 1838; November 7, 1839; January 18 and April 25, 1844. This was a weekly paper published at Jackson. Files in the State Library at Lansing.

Michigan State Journal, March 11, 1858 to March 17, 1859; September 20 and 27, 1860. Published at Lansing. Files very broken.

The Monroe *Times*, July 28, 1836 to July 29, 1837. A weekly paper. The Files are in the Burton Historical Collection. The first number was issued on the first mentioned date. This paper reflects the feelings of the people on the southern border at the time of the boundary controversy with Ohio.

Niles *Gazette and Advertiser*, September 5, 1835 to September 28, 1836. Files in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. This was a weekly paper and probably the only paper of this time published in southwestern Michigan which is extant. Especially valuable for that reason.

Niles *Intelligencer*, February 21, 1838 to March 10, 1841. Files also in the Wisconsin Historical Society Library. It is a useful source for the period of the hard times.

Niles *Republican*, April 7, 1842 to January 16, 1858; changed to The Niles *Democratic Republican*, January 23, 1858 to December 29, 1860. Files are in the State Library and there are very few missing numbers. This was a weekly paper which reflected the views of the Democrats of western Michigan on local and national issues in the forties and fifties.

The Western Chronicle, October 14, 1858 to December 20, 1860. A weekly paper published at Centerville in St. Joseph County until August 25, 1859; then at Three Rivers. Only fairly good for this period.

Whig and Republican Papers

Detroit *Journal and Advertiser*, February 28, 1834 to February 24, 1835. Files in the Detroit Public Library. Useful for the organization of the Whig party.

Detroit *Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, December 26, 1834 to January 14, 1835; changed to Detroit *Journal and Courier*, January 21, 1835 to November 12, 1835. This paper reflects the attitude of the Whigs toward the foreign element at this time. Files also in the Detroit Public Library.

Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, June 13, 1836 to December 31, 1860. Files are very complete and are in the Detroit Public Library. This paper was first published on the date mentioned above. The politics of this paper was first Whig, then Know-Nothing

and finally Republican. This is one of the two most useful papers in ante-bellum times.

Detroit *Daily Tribune*, November 19, 1849 to May 18, 1850; May 17, 1856 to December 31, 1860. The first number of this paper was issued on November 19, 1849. Files also in the Detroit Public Library. If it were not for the break in the files this paper would be a very valuable source on the organization of the Republican party. The editor was a leading advocate of the union of the anti-slavery elements in 1854.

Hillsdale *Whig Standard*, June 30, 1846 to September 1, 1851; changed to The Hillsdale *Standard*, September 8, 1851 to December 25, 1860. The files have been used from the first number and are in good condition. Politics Whig until 1854, then Republican. Reflects the opinion of its constituents.

Jacksonburg *Sentinel*, May 20, 1837 to March 10, 1838; changed to Jackson *Sentinel*, April 21, 1838 to May 30, 1840. Files very fragmentary. Located in the State Library.

Michigan Expositor, December 25, 1849 to December 16, 1851. Published at Adrian and reflects the sentiments of the conservative Whigs toward the compromise measures.

Michigan State Journal, May 22, 1839 to November 19, 1845. Published at Ann Arbor. Useful for information on the factional quarrels in the Democratic party and on the attitude of the Whigs toward the tariff.

Michigan State Gazette, August 13, 1840 to August 5, 1841. Published at Jackson. Files in the State Library. Cover too short a period to be very useful.

Michigan Telegraph, June 7, 1850 to May 19, 1852; The Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, May 4, 1859 to November 28, 1860. Useful for the period covered by the files.

Oakland Gazette, February 14, 1844 to February 5, 1848; February 16, 1850 to May 31, 1851; changed to Pontiac *Gazette*, June 7, 1851 to December 28, 1860. Most useful paper in eastern Michigan outside of Detroit. Files in the Burton Historical Collection. Whig in politics until 1854, then Republican.

Port Huron *Commercial*, June 28, 1851 to April 24, 1856. The first paper is number 1 of volume 1. It was a Whig organ until March 6, 1852, when a Democrat purchased the paper. It then became a Democratic paper. It reflects the views of the people of eastern Michigan.

The Washtenaw Whig, March 15, 1848 to July 25, 1855; changed to The Ann Arbor *Journal and the Washtenaw Whig*, August 22, 1855 to September 26, 1855; changed to The Ann Arbor *Journal*, October 3, 1855 to December 26, 1860. A weekly

paper. Politics Whig until July, 1854, then Republican. Some very useful material.

The Western Statesman, September 12, 1839 to October 5, 1843; changed to the Marshall *Statesman*, October 12, 1843 to December 26, 1860. Partial files in the State Library. This pape is full of news on the political topics of the day.

The following papers were Republican in politics during the period which the files were used, though some of them were probably Whig organs when first published.

Branch County Journal, September 25, 1856 to February 24, 1857. Not very useful.

Branch County Republican, October 13, 1857 to December 12, 1860. Files very fragmentary.

The Constantine *Weekly Mercury and St. Joseph County Advertiser*, August 2, 1855 to October 21, 1858. Good source on local politics.

Detroit *Weekly Tribune*, December 27, 1859 to December 4, 1860. Files in State Library. A very useful source.

Grand Rapids *Daily Eagle*, May 26, 1856 to May 25, 1860. Very useful for the study of politics in the Grand River Valley.

The Lansing *State Republican*, January 12, 1858 to November 21, 1860. Files in the State Library and are very incomplete.

Supplement to the Detroit *Daily Post and Tribune*, July 6, 1879. This was a special number published as a means of celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Republican party. Contains several letters and communications from men who had taken part in the organization of the party. In the Detroit Public Library.

Papers of the Liberty and Free Soil parties

Detroit *Daily Democrat*, January 11, 1854 to February 3, 1855; changed to Detroit *Daily Democrat and Inquirer* to November 19, 1855. Files in the Detroit Public Library. First Free Soil in politics, then Republican. Very useful source on the union of the anti-slavery forces in 1854.

The Signal of Liberty, January 6, 1845 to December 29, 1845. Files in the public library at Bay City, and in good condition. These files are especially useful because of the lack of sources on the third party.

True Democrat, January 9, 1845 to December, 1846; January 18, 1848 to March 9, 1849. Published at Ann Arbor. Politics

Democrat and Free Soil. Files broken. Only available Free soil paper at the time of the organization of the party.

The following papers were independent of party during all or part of the time in which the files are extant.

The Bay City *Express*, April 28, 1857 to July 18, 1857. Not very useful.

The Bay City *Press*, September 14, 1859 to September 5, 1860; changed to The Bay City *Press and Times*, September 12, 1860 to December 28, 1860. Very few missing numbers. Fairly useful.

Grand Rapids *Daily Herald*, March 26, 1855 to June 21, 1856. Reflects the views of the people in the Grand River Valley.

Michigan Farmer, January to December, 1856. A monthly publication and only an indirect aid.

The Saginaw *Enterprise*, September 8, 1853 to December 25, 1857; Saginaw *Weekly Enterprise*, February 12, 1858 to August 30, 1860; Saginaw *Enterprise*, tri-weekly, May 24, 1859 to September 1, 1859. Independent in politics until in the fall of 1855. It then became a Republican paper because a new editor took charge.

The Spirit of '76, August 17, 1839 to October 17, 1840. Files in the State Library. This paper was published by E. A. Theller, a political refugee from Canada and it reflected the views of the foreign element. Though nominally independent, it supported the candidates on the Democratic ticket in 1840.

Tecumseh *Chieftain*, May 19, 1859 to May 31, 1860. Of very little value.

CHURCH LITERATURE

Denominational Newspapers

General Papers

Christian Advocate and Journal, August 29, 1834 to December 27, 1860. This paper expresses the views of the conservative Methodists in the East who tried to prevent the abolition agitation in the church because it would disrupt the national organization.

Northwestern Christian Advocate, January 5, 1853 to December 26, 1860. This weekly paper was the spokesman for the Methodists of the Northwest.

The Presbyterian Expositor A Monthly Periodical, January, 1857 to December, 1859. Published at Chicago. Files in the

library of the Chicago Historical Society. Contains an illuminating article on the abolition agitation.

The Western Christian Advocate, January 2, 1850 to July 31, 1850; January 4, 1860 to December 26, 1860. Some useful articles.

Michigan Papers

Michigan Christian Herald, January 2, 1843 to December 27, 1860. This was the organ of the Baptists in Michigan and it reflected their views on the political issues.

Published Sermons

DUFFIELD, GEORGE. *A Thanksgiving Sermon The Religious Character of a People the True Element of Their Prosperity.* Detroit, 1839. Duffield was the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit. He dwelt at length in this sermon on the national sins and among these he attacked slavery.

————, ————. *A Sermon on American Slavery: Its Nature, and the Duties of Christians in Relation to It.* Detroit, 1840. A fair and unbiased discussion. This sermon brought forth a favorable comment from the Democratic press.

————, ————. *Our Federal Union A Cause for Gratitude to God. A Thanksgiving Discourse Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, November 28, 1850.* Detroit, 1850. He condemned the abolitionists and secessionists for endangering the integrity of the Union and appealed for its preservation. This sermon indicated the drift of sentiment in the church.

————, ————. *A Thanksgiving Discourse. The Rule of Divine Providence Applicable to the Present Circumstances of Our Country, Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, Thursday, November 28, 1860.* Detroit, 1861. He again appealed for the preservation of the Union.

————, ————. *Our National Sins to be Repented of, and the Grounds of Hope for the Preservation of Our Federal Constitution and Union. A Discourse Delivered, Friday, January 4, 1861, on the Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer Appointed by the President of the United States.* Detroit, 1861. Much the same as the preceding one.

Published Minutes of the Annual Meetings

Minutes of the General Meetings

Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1839 to 1859. New York, [1839-1859?]. Number of

members in the local churches in Michigan is contained in this publication in the reports from the States.

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1840 to 1860. New York, 1841-1860. Gives the membership in the Michigan churches.

Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Michigan Churches

Minutes of the Baptist Convention of the State of Michigan. Detroit, 1836, 1840, 1841. Valuable for the resolutions on slavery and for the number of members in the local churches.

Minutes of the Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Anniversary of the Michigan Baptist Association. Detroit, 1859-1860. Not very useful for this study.

Minutes of the General Association of Michigan, 1842 to 1860. Marshall, 1842-1845; Detroit, 1846; Jackson, 1848; Detroit, 1849-1853; Ann Arbor, 1854; Adrian, 1855; Detroit, 1856-1857; Adrian, 1858-1860. Very useful both for the resolutions and for the number of members.

Minutes of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1849 to 1860. Detroit, 1849-1853; Ann Arbor, 1854-1855; Detroit, 1856; Lansing, 1857; Chicago, 1858; Niles, 1859; Detroit, 1860. Valuable for the political predilections of the Methodists.

Minutes of the Synod of Michigan at Their Session in Niles Commencing Thursday Evening, June 18, 1857. Detroit, 1857. Of very little value.

Minutes of the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Synod of Michigan, at Monroe Commencing Wednesday, October 8, A. D. 1884, with Semi-Centennial Sermon and Appendix. Coldwater, 1884. The sermon contains a very useful resumé of the resolutions on slavery adopted at the meetings of the Synod.

Journal of the ... Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan, 1848 to 1860. Detroit, 1848-1854, 1858-1860; Marshall, 1855-1857.—14th to 26th annual conventions. Useful for the location of the churches and the number of members.

Church Histories

General

MATLACK, LUCIUS C. *The History of American Slavery and Methodism, From 1780 to 1849; and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America;* in Two Parts, with an Appendix. Part First. New York, 1849. The author tells the

story of the struggle between the radicals and the conservatives in the Methodist Episcopal Church over the abolition movement, the final secession of the radical element and the organization of the Wesleyan Church.

PUTNAM, MARY BURNHAM. *The Baptists and Slavery, 1840-1845.* Ann Arbor, 1913. A good general treatment of the subject.

SHEA, JOHN GILMARY. *History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1843, to the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1866.* Volume IV, New York, 1892. Contains a short account of the Catholic Church in Michigan.

THOMAS, A. C. *History of the Society of Friends in America.* New York, 1894. American Church History Series, Volume XII. A few pages are devoted to a discussion of the politics of the Quakers.

THOMPSON, ROBERT ELLIS. *A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States.* New York, 1895. American Church History Series, Volume VI. An indirect aid.

Michigan

The Congregational Churches of Michigan for the First Fifty Years of Their Organization into a State Association, Addresses Delivered, Papers Read and Reports Made at the Jubilee Meeting Held at Jackson, May 19-22, 1892. [No imprint]. A useful source for this treatise.

PILCHER, ELIJAH H. *Protestantism in Michigan: Being a Special History of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Incidentally of Other Denominations.* [etc., etc.]. Detroit, [1878]. A detailed treatment of the beginnings of the church in the various communities, but the church in the later period is neglected.

TROWBRIDGE, M. E. D. *History of the Baptists in Michigan.* Published under the Auspices of the Michigan Baptist State Convention, 1909. Useful for the founding of the local churches.

Biographies of Ministers

DOSKER, HENRY E. *Levensschets van Rev. A. C. Van Raalte, D. D.* Nijkerk, 1893. The author's chapter on politics is illuminating, especially his account of the attitude of Van Raalte toward the leading issues.

PILCHER, JAMES E. *Life and Labors of Elijah H. Pilcher of Michigan. Fifty-nine Years a Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* Edited by His Son, James E. Pilcher. New York, 1892. Contains a good discussion of Pilcher's attitude toward the political questions in ante-bellum times.

PUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE AND DIARIES

Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1902* in Two Volumes. Volume II, Washington, 1903. An indirect aid only.

FRANK, DR. LOUIS FREDERICK. *Pionierjahre der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Familien Frank-Kerler in Wisconsin und Michigan 1849-1864*; Geschildert aus Briefen Gesammelt und Hrsg. von Dr. Louis F. Frank, Milwaukee, Wis., 1911. [Milwaukee? 1911]. A large collection of letters written by these Germans after their arrival in America. Gives an excellent insight into their attitude toward the political questions before the country.

Letters of Lucius Lyon, 1822 to 1845. *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXVII, 412-604. The most valuable available source on the factional developments in the Democratic party at the opening of the statehood period.

MOORE, JOHN BASSETT. *The Works of James Buchanan, Comprising His Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence*. Volumes VII to X, Philadelphia and London, 1909-1910. Not very useful.

MANUSCRIPTS

All the available manuscripts containing information on this subject have been used. All those listed below are in the Burton Historical Collection, except the correspondence of Kinsley S. Bingham which is in the Governor's office at Lansing, and the letters of John Savage Porter which are in the possession of Miss May E. Porter of Detroit.

Letters and Papers

Correspondence of Kinsley S. Bingham. A very small collection of letters written while Bingham was Governor. A few give valuable information for this study.

Letters and Papers of Austin Blair, 1847. Four letters relative to the nomination of a candidate for Governor on the Whig ticket throw light on the political situation in 1847.

Letters of John Clark, 1835 to 1860. Not many useful letters in this collection.

Letters and Papers of H. H. Emmons. Some very useful letters on the abolition movement.

Letters and Papers of H. H. Emmons and J. A. Van Dyke. Useful especially in the study of the Free Soil party.

Letters of Alpheus Felch. Very useful in the study of the factional struggle in the Democratic party in the forties.

Letters and Papers of Jacob M. Howard. Surprisingly few useful letters in this collection.

Letters and Papers of Bela Hubbard, 1849 to 1860. Not many valuable letters for this study; most of them are business letters.

Letters and Papers of James F. Joy, 1835 to January, 1861. The sixty large volumes which cover this period contain mainly business letters. An excellent source for the student of railroad history. A few letters give information on the Free Soil party.

Letters of Cornelius O'Flynn, May 5, 1851 to 1860. Useful especially for the disaffection in the Republican party in 1857.

Letters of John Savage Porter, 1839 to 1860. Valuable for the study of the anti-slavery movement. Mr. Porter was very sincere in his convictions.

Letters and Papers of C. C. Trowbridge, April 15, 1842 to December, 1860. Mainly business letters.

Letters and Papers of John R. Williams, January, 1835 to 1854. Valuable mainly for the attitude of the wealthy Democrats toward the measures of the radical Democrats in the late thirties, that is after the financial crisis in 1837.

Letters and Papers of Ross Wilkins, 1835 to 1860. Contains the manuscript copy of the proceedings in the United States Circuit Court at the time of the suit over Adam Crosswhite, the slave who had escaped from his master in Kentucky.

Letters and Papers of William Woodbridge, 1834 to 1860. The most complete and by far the most useful collection of manuscripts available for this study. Most of the information in regard to the factional character of the Whig party has been gleaned from these letters.

Miscellaneous letters and Papers, two volumes; 1836-1842. A few good letters in this collection.

Letter Books

Letter Books of George C. Bates, April 26, 1841 to May 16, 1845; May 15, 1850 to December 8, 1851. Mostly letters written while Bates was United States District Attorney.

Letter Book of Richard R. Elliott, January 1, 1857 to December 31, 1857. Business letters mainly.

Letter Book of H. H. Emmons, June 5, 1843 to October 31, 1843; June 24, 1844 to May 3, 1847. Not many useful letters.

Letter Books of H. H. Emmons and James A. Van Dyke, October 28, 1845 to August 26, 1846; May 4, 1847 to May 29, 1849;

January 11, 1850 to October 22, 1851. Useful mainly for information on the Free Soil party.

Letter Book of Jacob M. Howard, August 23, 1838 to July 17, 1843. Business and legal letters mainly.

Letter Books of Jacob M. Howard and Addison Mandell, May 10, 1848 to December 29, 1860. Some very valuable letters on politics in the fifties.

Letter Book of John Norvell, June 3, 1845 to December 12, 1849. Most of these letters were written while Mr. Norvell was United States District Attorney.

Diaries

Diary of William Woodbridge, December 25, 1850 to April 29, 1854; December 1, 1856 to March 2, 1858. Only an occasional mention of political issues.

GENERAL SECONDARY WORKS

BIRNEY, WILLIAM. *James G. Birney and His Times. The Genesis of the Republican Party with Some Account of Abolition Movements in the South before 1828.* New York, 1890. Good for information on the anti-slavery movement and the organization of the Liberty party.

BOLLES, ALBERT S. *The Financial History of the United States, From 1789 to 1860.* New York, 1883. A general survey of the field.

COFFIN, LEVI. *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad; Being a Brief History of the Labors of a Lifetime in Behalf of the Slave, with the Stories of Numerous Fugitives, Who Gained Their Freedom Through His Instrumentality, and Many Other Incidents.* 2nd ed., Cincinnati, 1880. Good source for a study of the underground railroad.

HUBBARD, BELA. *Memorials of a Half-Century in Michigan and the Lake Region.* New York and London, 1888. A very good account by an eye witness. Useful for conditions in Michigan after the panic of 1837.

JUGLAR, CLEMENT. *A Brief History of Panics and Their Periodical Occurrence in the United States.* Englished and Edited with an Introductory Essay Setting Forth the Indications of Approaching Panic by DeCourcy W. Thom. New York and London, 1897. A very general but suggestive account.

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